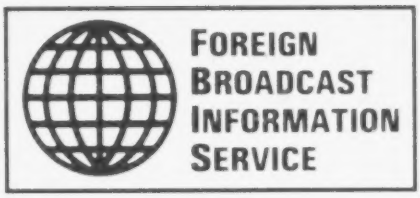

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Russian, French Foreign Ministers Discuss Bosnia

LD0105210293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2053 GMT 1 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Krasnoshchekov]

[Text] Paris May 2 TASS—Russian and French foreign ministers Andrey Kozyrev and Alain Juppe discussed the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in a telephone talk May 1.

A French Foreign Ministry spokesman said the ministers of Russia and France shared the position that the international community should use all measures of pressure to ensure a peace settlement of the Yugoslav conflict.

Kozyrev and Juppe voiced support for efforts by the co-chairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Coordinating Committee Cyrus Vance and David Owen aimed at holding a meeting of the presidents of the new independent states which earlier were part of former Yugoslasvia and also the leaders of the warring parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina in Athens, the spokesman said.

Churkin Arrives in Athens for Yugoslav Talks

LD0105073093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0703 GMT 1 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens, 1 May—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin has arrived in the capital of Greece to take part in a two-day international conference on a peaceful settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to informed sources, he will meet today with Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou and his deputy Viryinia Tsoudherou; he will also hold talks with representatives of the conflicting sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The conference represnets another attempt to settle the tragic conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina by peaceful means. As Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis said on the eve of the conference, no agreements will be signed at the conference, which is intended to "clarify" the Vance-Owen plan and to convince the Bosnian Serbs to adopt the plan.

Commentator Warns U.S. Against 2d Vietnam in FRY

LD0305002193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 May 93

[Commentary by Belgrade correspondent Vladimir Solvyev; from the "Itogi" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Video shows Athens talks, negotiators Vance and Owen, UN armored vehicles passing through villages, injured men, interior of mosque with worshippers, Mostar scenes, weaponry being fired, mourners, fighters cleaning weapons, aged woman eating in hospital, Karadzic news conference, Clinton in news conference, Sarajevo] At the international conference on a peaceful settlement in Bosnia- Herzegovina in Athens today, Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic signed the last two documents of the Vance-Owen peace plan on an interim government and the territorial division of this former Yugoslav republic into 10 ethnic provinces. Today is a happy day, Cyrus Vance told a news conference. He stressed that the signing of the agreement by all parties to the conflict gives us hope, and now the time has come to talk about peace, not military intervention.

Peace is still a long way off, however. The Assembly of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] is to ratify Karadzic's signature in the town of Pale on 5 May, but the deputies could once again reject the plan, which is in many respects to the Serbs' disadvantage. The issue could be put to a referendum, which could also yield a negative result.

At the same news conference today, Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic announced that the signing of the peace plan ended the existence of the Serb state in Bosnia. The handing over of part of the disputed territories and humanitarian corridors to the control of the Blue Helmets is an extremely weak guarantee of the survival of the Serbian provinces. The Serbs have discovered through many bitter experiences that whenever there is carnage and the victims happen to be the Serb population, the peace-keeping forces prefer not to intervene and pretend that nothing is happening. An exception is the East sector, where the main positions are held by a battalion of Russian assault troops. The French peacekeepers have already repeatedly been noticed secretly handing over weapons to the Muslims.

If the victims are Muslims, however, a terrible compaign against Serbs immediately starts everywhere, and Federal Yugoslavia comes in for a new package of sanctions. The new, total sanctions went into force on Tuesday, and so far only the Russian Federation parliament has raised the question of lifting them.

According to some sort of unhealthy logic, a country which is in effect taking no part in the conflict is being subjected to more and more punishment. Yugoslavia is apparently guilty because it can evidently have an influence on the Bosnian Serbs and compel them to accept unfavorable conditions. At the same time, it is officially admitted by all that all three warring parties are guilty in the Balkan tragedy. Why not impose sanctions on Germany, then, to make it lean on the Croats and stop supplying them with Soviet weaponry from the arsenals of the former GDR? Or why not introduce a blockade on Saudi Arabia and Turkey to make them ban the Muslims from waging war, and recall their mojahedin mercenaries from their armies?

Even with the most favorable results of negotiations, it is unlikely that anyone can stop the war now. The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that the Serbs, as with the Croats and Muslims, will not leave their land and will, to the last drop of their blood, defend their families and homes from annihilation. The blockade thought up by cunning diplomats will have no effect whatsoever, except that more children and old folk will die in Serb hospitals because of shortages of medicines and because the standard of living of the Yugoslavs has been totally undermined.

The signing of the Vance-Owen plan guarantees no stability. While international anger is turned on the Serbs, the sides which signed back in New York, the Croats and Muslims, have for the second week running been mercilessly cutting one another to pieces in the Neretva river valley, carving up territories with not a mention of either Vance or Owen. And no one is punishing them or their protectors for this by imposing sanctions.

On the contrary, President Clinton is currently working on the question of lifting the embargo on arms sales to the Muslims, and is planning to take even harsher measures against Federal Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs: he has announced that a missile strike could be carried out on Serb positions. He is evidently not frightened by Congress and Pentagon warnings about the possibility of a new Vietnam starting—although in the Balkans, if things turn out for the worst there, it could be worse than a second Vietnam. After all, a world war started in Sarajevo once.

Commentary of Possibility of Force in Bosnia

LD0305145193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The international community is voicing its satisfaction over the Bosnian Serb leaders' agreement to a settlement of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina in accordance with the Vance-Owen plan. This, the main result of the international meeting held in Athens yesterday, is welcomed from Washington to Beijing.

Does the change in the position of the Bosnian Serb representatives at the Athens talks mean that the threat of international war and intervention in Bosnia has now been lifted? Our commentator Igor Surguchev gives his opinion:

[Surguchev] No, I don't think that the threat has been lifted at all, although hopes for a peaceful solution of the Bosnian conflict have grown. The fact is that the agreement of Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic to the Vance-Owen plan has yet to be ratified by the Bosnian Serb Assembly, or parliament. A special sitting on 5 May will either approve or disapprove Karadzic's new position, so we shall have to wait a while to see the final picture.

The concessions which the Bosnian leader agreed to are, I think, a serious signal which can and should influence the mood of the Serb community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and consequently their parliamentarians. Tough international pressure on those in the former Yugoslavia who oppose implementing the Vance-Owen plan seems to be yielding fruit. And one would like to believe that the Bosnian Serbs understand that peace—even a bad peace from their point of view—is better than a good quarrel. They simply have no choice.

Up to a certain stage, the Bosnian Serbs, and Belgrade, too, seemed to be placing their hopes on Russia putting up determined opposition to international military intervention. These hopes were most likely fostered by the Supreme Soviet's instruction to Russia's UN envoy to resort to the right of veto in the UN Security Council during votes on the relevant resolution. But then came a statement by our foreign minister, Kozyrev, that Moscow would not opt for confrontation with the international community, if it considered it necessary to use force in former Yugoslavia.

Of course, the use of force is an extreme measure, and not the best one. But sometimes, as we may recall from the events in the Persian Gulf zone, it becomes inevitable. Such is the current position of Russia's government on this issue, as I understand. It is wholly likely that this will lead to another clash between the executive and the legislative powers. But it is too soon to speak of this, I reckon, because everything depends upon the Bosnian Serb parliamentarians: only they can remove the wholly real threat of external military intervention.

The West, it is true, has little faith in their good sense, and is continuing to draw up plans for such intervention. A list of possible measures to be taken by the allies was discussed in London by British Prime Minister Major and U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, who is touring Europe. Christopher's program, incidentally, includes a visit to Moscow for consultations on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These consultations, in the light of the Bosnian Serb parliament's decision, of course, will clear up the issue of how far Russia might participate in possible international military operations in the former Yugoslavia.

Further International Reaction to Referendum

Commentary Urges U.S. Aid

LD3004223593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Our commentary at this time has been prepared by Valentin Zorin.

When the United States secretary of state Warren Christopher applauded the victory of President Yeltsin in last Sunday's referendum in Russia, he said the time had come for America to help Russia along the road of democracy and economic reform. Now indirectly, this is an admission that America has done practically nothing so far to help Russia. What will follow the latest statement out of Washington remains to be seen.

Some Washington officials and political analysts also have displayed exaggerated optimism in comments on the referendum results. True, President Yeltsin won his gamble in turning to the voting public for support of his policies, but though his conservative opponents met with little support in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other large cities, they did win the backing of people in outlying areas. Such an authoritative person on the situation in Russia as President Clinton's adviser, Strobe Talbott, made a remark in Congress a few days ago—the United States, he said, should do everything possible to make sure the advantages of reforms become more tangible for the people of Russia's hinterland.

It's all too true that the reforms have yet to reveal advantages, especially in the provinces, but what Americans should remember is that President Yeltsin's victory in the referendum has not resulted in an end to the deep political struggle. There are still difficult months ahead and the stakes are high. It goes without saying that the outcome will be decided by Russia itself, but the concrete actions taken by those in the West—and notably the United States—who support the reforms could be of vital significance. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher says the time has come to translate words into actions to help Russia. It would be a step in the right direction if this took place.

Kohl on Yeltsin Referendum Victory

LD3004161593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1459 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn April 30 TASS—"The results of the recent referendum in Russia have clearly demonstrated that despite the considerable social difficulties, the majority of the Russian people have expressed confidence in the course of implementing reforms being conducted by President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin," Federal Chancellor of Germany Helmut Kohl said speaking in Munich today at a ceremony on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Bavaria.

Fortunately, those who predicted an offensive by old forces turned out to wrong, the head of the German Government noted. "Now we are dealing with new Russia which has liberated itself from the yoke of old thinking and intends to become a constituent part of the community of free and democratic states," Helmut Kohl stressed.

The German federal chancellor spoke for more active support to Russia from Western countries. Promoting Russian reforms is at the same time investment in the peaceful future of all Europe, Helmut Kohl pointed out.

Iranian Press Reaction Assessed

NC0305094293 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Station commentary]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Iranian mass media have carried articles and reports on the Russian referendum. Considering the articles carried in three main Iranian newspapers—ABRAR, SALAM, and JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI—an opinion can be expressed on Iranian press reaction to the referendum.

The first factor drawing attention is the overt criticism of the Russian president's policies and of his opponents. According to ABRAR, the president's policy is tantamount to (?destroying) the nation. The newspaper views overt U.S. interference in Russia's internal affairs and the disintegration of an extensive empire as entailing suffering and tribulations through (?reforms).

SALAM writes: The results of the referendum can be construed as a relative victory for President Yeltsin, the return of the country to capitalism, and the ultimate dependence of Moscow's foreign policy on Washington.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI deems Yeltsin's policy as a surrender to the West under the outward veneer of reforms.

On the president's opponents, the Iranian newspapers, to cite ABRAR, openly consider them a nationalist and communist opposition. JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI calls them supporters of a return to communism.

There is nothing new in these assessments, and the opinions are in line with the concept "neither East nor West." The common denominator in these assessments is that they highlight the U.S. factor in Russian policy negatively, at times using strong words and at other times insulting Russia.

This is how to gauge the inner thoughts of these newspapers. How wonderful if the United States were not in the picture and communism never returned! The crux of the issue is that the referendum is viewed from the vantage point of Iran's confrontation with the United States and from Iran's ideological beliefs. These sentiments cannot be eliminated.

The referendum took place in Russia and the Russian citizens who went to the polls last Sunday did not think about Washington-Iranian relations, but about their own destiny and the future of their country.

As ABRAR stated quite correctly, they voted for peace in their country. As the international press stressed, the outcome of the referendum in Russia made many capitals breathe a sigh of relief.

Two More Submarines To Be Delivered to Iran

LD0205204293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2031 GMT 2 May 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran, May 2 TASS—Two more submarines ordered in Russia will shortly be delivered to Iran and will equip the Iranian Navy, Acting Commander of the Iranian Navy, Admiral Abbas Mokhtaj said in Bushehr, ETTELA'AT newspaper reported on Sunday.

A diesel submarine built at Russian shipyards has already been delivered to Iran. It is used now in exercises in the Persian Gulf.

Admiral Mokhtaj said that in addition to repairing equipment damaged during the war with Iraq, Iran plans to build new naval ships to reinforce its navy. At the same time, the admiral stressed that the Iranian Navy does not threaten neighbours in the Persian Gulf. He proposed to ensure by joint forces the security of the region, also of the strategically important Strait of Hormuz.

10 Documents To Be Signed if Yeltsin Visits Japan in May

LD0305083093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 3 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kutakhov]

[Text] Tokyo May 3 TASS—The Governments of Russia and Japan have reached an agreement that if Russian President Boris Yeltsin visits Japan at the end of May as scheduled, 10 documents will be signed as a result of talks between leaders of the two countries. The agreements include the stepping up of a political dialogue between Tokyo and Moscow, Russo-Japanese cooperation in space exploration for peaceful purposes and joint measures for rescue at sea.

The Tokyo SHIMBUN newspaper writes that a decision to this effect was adopted at unofficial talks between Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito and his Russian counterpart Georgiy Kunadze, who arrived in Tokyo to make preparations for President Boris Yeltsin's visit.

One of the coordinated documents envisages the development of a political dialogue between Moscow and Tokyo at a level of heads and foreign ministers of both countries and during working contacts.

Kuril Island Official Seeks Aid From Hokkaido

OW0305104893 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Vladimir Koshtruk, chairman of the Kurilskiy Rayon Soviet, has turned to his Japanese neighbor, the governor of Hokkaido, with a request for help. The telegram tells of the terrible problem of ensuring electricity supplies on Iturup Island due to a lack of money to buy fuel. Moreover, the head of the Kuril parliament notes that neither the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet nor the federal authorities have reacted to the misfortunes of the islanders. That is why he is forced to ask neighbors for 50 million yen to obtain fuel.

Koshtruk warned about the possibility of such an appeal in his speech at the last session of the Oblast Soviet. However, money to pay debts and to stock up on fuel was not received in Iturup.

Just one and a half years ago, Koshtruk was one of the most orthodox local patriots, coming out in support of the unconditional preservation of Russian sovereignty over all the islands of the Kuril archipelago. Today, the governor of Hokkaido has become his last hope. Moreover, it is useful to note that the largest support for the president of Russia in Sakhalin Oblast was shown by the inhabitants of the three Kuril rayons.

Withdrawal of Japanese Finance Suspends Zarubino Port Project

OW0305113493 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] The start of the second stage of construction at Zarubino, one of the most important ports in the southern Maritime Kray, has been stalled indefinitely.

On the eve of the Russian referendum, the potential investors—several major Japanese companies—decided not to risk their capital. Although the results of the referendum showed that the Japanese fears were groundless, a new and considerable obstacle appeared: the government of the Land of the Rising Sun does not approve of such considerable contracts with Russian business circles. Perhaps the only sure solution was found. In the alliance of companies of the three countries involved in the project, China will act primarily as a buffer. Such a compromise would assure receipt of the required funding.

The decisive conference will be held on 10 May in Tokyo, at which Yevgeniy Bazhov, president of the Khasan Maritime Port joint stock company, will meet with the directors of (Tokyo Naruichi) and Mitsui. Port specialists are preparing new project estimates and all the necessary documents, including a small documentary film about Zarubino. According to their forecast, construction of the port will be renewed by the beginning of the summer.

Talks on Radioactive Dumping Scheduled With Japan

LD0105082093 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] A spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry said in Tokyo yesterday that Russia and Japan would hold on 11th and 12th May the first round of talks on the problem of dumping radioactive waste in the Sea of Japan. The two sides are to exchange information and discuss joint actions in this sphere.

Russian General Arrives in Washington for Talks

LD0205210293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2020 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington, 3 May—Lieutenant General A.I. Nikolayev, first deputy chief of the genral staff of the Russian armed forces, arrived in the American capital on Sunday. During his visit, Nikolayev will hold talks with members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces and visit a number of military installations. According to an official Pentagon spokesman, Nikolayev's visit marks the beginning of a widening of contacts between high command representatives of the two countries, which was recommended by the U.S. and Russian Presidents during the Vancouver summit. It is expected that Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev will visit Washington in the very near future.

Minister of Nuclear Energy Leaves for U.S. Visit 3 May

LD0205081493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0754 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Gordeyev]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—Professor Viktor Mikhaylov, Russian minister for nuclear energy, is due to leave for the United States on Monday to promote the realisation of the accords reached in Vancouver by Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton.

During the visit, the Russian minister is to hold talks with U.S. Secretary of Commerce Mr. Brown, U.S. Secretary of Energy Mrs. o'Leary, and Mrs. Davis, assistant to the U.S. secretary of state, a spokesman at the information department of the Russian ministry told ITAR-TASS.

Discussion at the talks will deal with an anti-dumping agreement to fix Russian interests as regards quotas and prices for the sale of natural uranium on the U.S. market and a contract for the sale of nuclear fuel produced from highly-enriched uranium obtained from dismantled nuclear weapons, the spokesman said.

Contract To Launch U.S. Satellite Signed

LD0105192593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] A United States commercial satellite will be launched in 1995 from the cosmodrome in Baykonur in Kazakhstan with a Russian rocket. The contract for the launch has been signed in Moscow by the international organization Inmarsat, with its headquarters in London, and the Russian design agency called Salyut.

Churkin Says Latvia's Actions Unacceptable

LD3004154293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1405 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Apr— Vitaliy Churkin, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Russia, has stated that unilateral actions by Latvia to extend or alter the framework of the accords already reached regarding the withdrawal of Russian troops from that country are unacceptable.

At a briefing for journalists today, the Russian diplomat reported that for a lengthy period now Russian-Latvian talks have been continuing on the whole complex of relations, including the issue of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Latvia. The relevant agreement "is at a fairly high stage of readiness," he stressed. The parts of it agreed upon provide for those categories of individuals who will leave the territory of Latvia in connection with the withdrawal of troops. The decision of the Latvian Parliament adopted two days ago "substantially extends" these categories.

Churkin also acknowledged that the recent "warning" from Boris Yeltsin and the representations made through diplomatic channels "have had a certain effect" and the scope of parliament's resolution, in its final form, is "substantially narrower" than the original plans. Instead of the 200,000 to 300,000 people who would have had to leave Latvia under the original plans, "only about 30,000 people are now affected, in addition to those categories of people already agreed on in the jointly drafted agreement." However, this adjustment "does not remove our concern," the deputy minister stressed.

"Basically, this is an open attempt to drive entire categories of people out of Latvia, and we cannot tolerate this," Vitaliy Churkin emphasized. Such actions, he said, "could have extremely serious consequences both for the situation in Latvia and for relations between us." The diplomat expressed hope that the Latvian side would eventually "bring its course, policy, and legislation into line with the principles which were agreed between us."

New Humanitarian Effort Planned for Abkhazia

LD3004200093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1941 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchyogoleva]

[Text] Sochi April 30 TASS—First Deputy Chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situations, Yuriy Vorobyov, has arrived in Sochi today. The aim of his visit is to resolve the problems connected with Russia's implementation of its humanitarian mission in the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict.

At a meeting with the head of the Sochi administration, Yuriy Vorobyov singled out three directions of the planned humanitarian mission. The first direction is to transport from Sukhumi civil citizens of non-Georgian nationality who wish to leave the conflict zone. "We have facts at our disposal that Russians, Armenians, Greeks and representatives of other nationalities have no possibility to leave Sukhumi where their rights are being grossly violated. These people are forced to take part in combat operations, dig trenches, and they are used as a cover in the settlement of military tasks. We must help those who do not participate in the conflict to leave its zone", Yuriy Vorobyov stressed.

The second direction is to carry out work on the prevention of an explosion of gas-methane in the mines located in the city of Tkvarcheli. According to Yuriy Vorobyov, this work should be conducted urgently with the participation of international experts because in the event of spontaneous combustion of coal dust the consequences could be most tragic: There can be serious fatalities, seismic oscillations of soil and avalanches.

The third direction of the Russian humanitarian action is to render humanitarian aid to citizens of Tkvarcheli.

"We addressed the Georgian Government requesting it to agree with the conducting of such an action. However, the Georgian side has not given an answer yet. Georgian experts expressed their viewpoint saying that our assessments of the threat of an explosion in the mines of Tkvarcheli are somewhat exaggerated, and they themselves would like to make the necessary calculations. Neither do we have the Georgian side's consent to transport refugees from Sukhumi," the Russian representative pointed out.

According to Yuriy Vorobyov, on May 2 this year representatives of the United Nations who are currently in Tbilisi, and representatives of the Russian embassy will go to the zone of the conflict to find out on the spot what aid is needed by the people living there. A headquarters will be organized in Sochi within the next few days, its officers will be engaged in preparing a new humanitarian action.

"Although so far we do not see any adequate reaction to our proposals from the Georgian leadership, we believe that the beginning of this work will promote the peaceful settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict," the first deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Emergency Situation pointed out.

Foreign Ministry Denies Russian Tilt to Armenia

LD3004182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1744 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry lamented over a pronouncement of Azeri Defence Minister Tofik Gasymov at a regular meeting of foreign ministers from countries-members of the Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC] in Karachi on alleged "Russian open military support to Armenia and its political and military allies," head of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing here today.

Such allegations do not correspond to the reality and are not grounded, which has been stated by Russian officials at various levels, said the diplomat.

The Russian stand on Karabakh conflict is clear—Russia is genuinely interested in the soonest termination of the fratricidal war and is doing its best to achieve this, giving no preference to any of the sides.

Sergey Yastrzhembskiy stressed this is not the first public anti-Russian pronouncement of the Azeri foreign minister. Bearing in mind similar allegations of some Azeri high-ranking diplomats, who are trying to discredit the Russian role in Karabakh settlement despite evident facts, unfortunately, one can make a conclusion "on a certain tendency as regards Russia in the Azeri Foreign Ministry".

Such statements are absolutely inadmissible, bearing in mind the character of Russian-Azeri relations and mutual interest in their development, said the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman.

DPRK Party Secretary Reportedly Wants Talks With U.S.

SK0105115293 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Choe Tae-pok, secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee, has insisted on holding bilateral talks with the United States based on the principle of fairness and equality.

In an interview with the Korean Central News Agency, he said that an attempt to strangle the DPRK with military threats, provocations, or sanctions is foolish.

U.S. Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff and an official DPRK representative will meet next week in Beijing.

The WPK Central Committee secretary's statement prior to the meeting attracts attention from various foreign new media.

DPRK Concerned About Russian Radioactive Dumping

SK0105114193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] North Korea today urged the United Nations to prevent the contamination of the Sea of Japan with radioactive waste. The Korean Central News Agency reports that a DPRK office in charge of political affairs expressed discontent over the fact that Russia, the DPRK's neighbor, had been contaminating the Sea of Japan.

According to data of the [word indistinct], an international politics association, the authorities of the former Soviet Union dumped two nuclear devices for nuclear-powered submarines in the Sea of Japan.

Russian, Cuban Officials Discuss Relations

PA3004170693 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Current and future relations between Cuba and Russia were analyzed in Moscow by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Grigoriy Mamelov and Rogelio Montenegro, the Cuban ambassador to Russia. The meeting was held in response to a request by the Cuban ambassador.

Cuban ELINT Site Subject of Talks

LD0205215293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2022 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] The Cuban authorities have revealed a terrible secret which, incidentally, is already widely known, namely that there is an enormous Russian electronic intelligence gathering center on the island, near the American coastline. Well, this is the first time that Havana has admitted that it exists. The Cuban spokesmen say they are engaged in talks concerning the future of the center. According to them, Moscow receives 75 percent of its strategic intelligence-gathering information through the center.

Russian Envoy Discusses Cyprus Settlement

LD0105102193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958 GMT 1 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Yerovchenkov]

[Text] Nicosia May 1 TASS—Cyprus consultations of Petr Dobrosedov, personal representative of the Russian foreign minister, ended on Friday with a meeting with Archbishop Chrysostomos. The head of the Cyprus Orthodox Church pointed to the importance of the development of friendly relations between the two nations, which had been bound all along their history by the ties of close friendship and the common spiritual interests. The archbishop stressed the importance of the role played by Russia in the settlement of key international problems, including the Cyprus problem.

On the same day the Russian representative met Raif Denktas, leader of the Turkish Cyprus community. They discussed the situation at the island and the approaches of the leaders of that community to the Cyprus settlement problem. They also touched upon the problems dealing with the working out and putting into effect of confidence-building measures, as well as with the "package of ideas" on Cyprus of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali.

Previously Dobrosedov was received by President of the Republic of Cyprus Glavkos Kliridhis and Foreign Minister Alexandros Mikhailidhis. They discussed possible ways of settling the Cyprus problem and dwelt on problems of deepening mutually advantageous Russian-Cyprus cooperation in various spheres.

Meetings and talks in Cyprus were useful and helped clarify the situation taking shape before May 24, when talks are to be resumed in New York under the aegis of the U.N. secretary general. Dobrosedov told ITAR-TASS today before leaving Athens. New factors emerged in the situation. The Russian side should know them, because Russia, as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, is taking an active part in the efforts aimed at achieving the Cyprus settlement.

Envoy Arrives in South Africa for Talks

LD0205002193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2332 GMT 1 May 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Johannesburg, 2 May—Special representative of the Russian Federation president, Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Kolokolov, who arrived in Johannesburg Saturday [1 May] evening, stated that the main purpose of his visit to the Republic of South Africa was to reconfirm Russia's willingness to develop bilateral relations with this republic in all directions.

"Following a recent reinstatement of bilateral links between Moscow and Pretoria, our relations have been developing with success, enabling us to see positive results of this process," he stated to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. "Both sides are undoubtedly interested in broadening and deepening cooperation in many different areas. That is why the time is right to set new goalposts for this cooperation and to discuss a range of

documents on our trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural links, as well as on contacts between our respective foreign departments. These documents have already been prepared."

"In the course of the negotiations, we will also discuss international problems which have a bearing, first and foremost, on the situation in the South African region, in particular in Angola and Mozambique," the Russian envoy added. "We are also interested in discussing the situation in the South African Republic. We would like to see a democratic South Africa growing in a peaceful environment, and therefore we believe that the only possible path of resolving its complicated problems is the path of negotiations."

May Day Activities

Pro-Communist Organizations Hold Rally in Moscow

Clashes Between Militia, Opposition

LD0105093593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Clashes took place near Gagarin Square in Mosow today between participants in an unauthorized opposition march and Special Purpose Militia Detachments [OMON], which tried to prevent the demonstrators from heading toward the university on Sparrow Hills. Using their numerical advantage, the marchers broke through barriers and headed for the university. After obtaining reinforcements, the OMON units used force and turned the column back. As INTERFAX reports, a march toward the university was not permitted neither in the application submitted by the organizers of the event nor in the ruling by the authorities. The mayor's office had earmarked an area on Krymskiy Val for the rally. Viktor Anpilov [Working Russia movement member], Gennadiy Yanayev [former USSR vice president and August 1991 coup plotter], and Vladimir Kryuchkov [former KGB chairman and August 1991 coup plotter] were among those marching at the head of the column.

Injuries Reported in Clash

LD0105112093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today's May Day morning at Oktyabrskaya Square began with a rather peaceful meeting organized by the Working Russia, Officers' Assembly, Changes in Favor of the Workers, and other organizations of the communist persuasion under their same old slogans. Even former members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency came to this meeting.

[Begin recording Anatoliy Lukyanov, former Supreme Soviet chairman and 1991 August coup plotter] Nothing is lost for us. It is lost only for those who serve this regime. [end recording]

After that, the pace of events accelerated. From Oktyabrskaya Square, demonstrators proceeded down Leninskiy Prospekt toward the university, hoping to gain support for their movements from students. However, at approximately 1120, there was a clash between the opposition and the law-protection forces at the corner of Leninskiy Prospekt and Gagarin Square. This, in fact, has clearly demonstrated that confrontation in the country has reached a critical point.

It seems the communist movement today has reached its peak. As a result of the clash, there are injured on both sides. It is difficult to say at the moment how events will develop from now. One would think that no political idea, however well-founded it might seem, does not merit a single human life.

Moscow Official Views Clashes

LD0105121193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 May 93

[Studio address by Aleksandr Pavlovich Braginskiy, deputy premier of the Moscow government, given on 1 May; from the "Vesti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] The demonstrators set fire to two trucks. The more zealous ones were tearing off tiles from the underground passes and used them as missiles. Fire brigades and ambulances arrived at the site of the incident. There are some injured. Aleksandr Pavlovich Braginskiy, deputy premier of the Moscow government, came to our studio. Now, over to him.

[Braginskiy] As you know, two large public events took place in Moscow today. There was a meeting at Manezh Square organized by the Federation of Moscow Trade Unions. It was conducted in an organized manner and its participants expressed their demands for social support. At the end they thanked the Moscow mayor—the organizers have personally phoned the mayor and thanked him for providing facilities for this meeting.

At the same time, in the region of Kaluga Square and Leninskiy Prospekt, there was a meeting and subsequent unsanctioned procession led by Deputy Konstantin Anpilov. Participants in this procession committed various hooligan escapades. Members of this processon inflicted bodily harm to militiamen and caused material damage to the city. Three private vehicles were burned. The main thing is that the militia could not stop the raging demonstrators, even with their shields and protective vests. A water cannon had to be used to stop this unsanctioned procession marching through the city.

The Moscow government, on behalf of the Moscow government, I state that we will continue as always to give all the parties and political movements a chance to express democratically their opinions, their views, and their demands, but we will not allow hooligan actions in the city. Those who organized these actions today will face criminal prosecution. Those who caused damage to the city, inflicted bodily harm to militiamen, and endangered the lives of the participants in this demonstration and the city inhabitants will also face criminal prosecution.

OMON Member Reported Killed

LD0105114893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] The May Day demonstration organized by the opposition and led by Working Russia has developed into disorders. The demonstrators tried to break through a cordon on Leninskiy Prospekt and clashed with the militia. The demonstrators used sticks and stones against

the militia. A spokesman for the Internal Affairs Main Directorate told RIA that the clashes had the nature of real mass disorder. According to eyewitnesses, INTERFAX reports, one of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] members has been gravely wounded. Several dozen people on both sides have been injured.

We have just received a report that the OMON member who was gravely wounded has died.

Over 70 Militiamen Said Injured

LD0105150493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1248 GMT 1 May 93

[Telephone interview with Vladimir Dubkov, staff member of the Moscow internal affairs directorate press service, with unidentified announcer on 1 May; from the "Panorama" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Let us return to the incident on Gagarin Square in Moscow where clashes have occurred between the opposition and the forces of law and order. [passage omitted]

[Dubkov] [passage omitted] As for the rally in Kaluga Square, where on the instructions of the Moscow mayor they had been allowed to meet and to move in the direction of Krymskiy Val to hold a meeting outside the Central House of the Union of Artists, the organizers of the rally, (?Shabanov), Skurlatov, and Anpilov, led the rally's participants towards Gagarin Square. After encountering, on their approach to Gagarin Square, militiamen who demanded that they halt their march, the demonstrators began pelting the militiamen with stones, sticks, and literally everything on hand. One vehicle was totally burned and a second was half-burned before firemen extinguished the flames.

At the present time there are about 70, over 70, casualties among militiamen. One of them is now in serious condition with two fractured jaws, fluid in the lungs, and a concussion. He is at present on the operating table. I would like to say that many of the mass media have reported the death of this militiaman. This is not quite right. He is at present in serious condition, and a fight is under way to save his life.

Measures allowed by law were employed by the militiamen to stop the unlawful actions including fire engines and means of protection. A number of individuals violating public order were detained and an inquiry is under way.

[Announcer] Do you have any information about what is happening at the present moment in Kaluga Square and in Gagarin Square?

[Dubkov] At about 1500, when the demonstrators returned from Gagarin Square to Kaluga Square, Anpilov called on the demonstrators to disperse, go to the metro, and then travel by metro to the Barrikadnaya station and proceed towards the White House and entrance no. 20. I have not heard anything about what is going on right now.

[Announcer] So it is possible that this incident will continue?

[Dubkov] Yes, he has called for a continuation. He called for a continuation. If they do not manage today to make their way through to the White House, he has called on all of them to assemble again tomorrow at 0800 and to continue then.

[Announcer] Well, I hope that, if anything happens, we will have a further conversation here on the air about this. Thank you.

[Dubrov] Thank you.

Prosecutor's Office Begins Investigation

LD0105135193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1338 GMT 1 May 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Nikolay Semenenko for TASS]

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—Moscow's public prosecutor's office started a criminal investigation into unrest in the area of Gagarin Square where clashes between opposition supporters, the police and anti-riot elite police force (Omon) broke out today. The police were ordered to detain persons who are held responsible for the unrest.

Vyacheslav Glukhov, a duty prosecutor in the Russian general prosecutor's office, told CRIME-PRESS "the criminal case was started into the fact of offering resistance to the police."

Kostikov Issues Statement

LD0105163693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the Russian president, today issued a statement. It says: The May Day holiday has been marred by a neo-communist provocation. Not confining themselves to the opportunity to hold a peaceful demonstration along a route authorized by the Moscow mayor's office, the leadership of the Communist Workers' Party of Russia, National Salvation Front, Working Russia, the Union of Officers, and a number of other formations organized a bloody clash in Moscow. Groups of fighters [boyeviki] were brought into action for the first time. There is no doubt about the aims of the provocation. Having been defeated in the referendum, Communist and national chauvinist leaders resorted to organizing mass unrest. It is regrettable that People's Deputies were among the organizers of this action. The so-called communist and patriotic opposition, representatives of which have spoken with such hypocrisy at the congresses and in the Supreme Soviet in the name of the people, have bared their true face. It has become known that the organizers of the

attack regard today's action as the beginning of a campaign of resistance to legitimate democratic authorities. This bloody crime, in which more than 150 people were seriously hurt, is something for which its organizers and the parties and groups behind them will face serious charges under the law. The president of the Russian Federation is deeply troubled and outraged by the actions of the political provocateurs. The appropriate bodies have been instructed to carry out an investigation of the incident, and, in accordance with its results, to take measures to give society and the population strong protection against political violence. The president expresses deep sympathy to all the victims.

Luzhkov: Armed Groups Among Demonstrators

LD0105182393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1700 GMT on 1 May, in its regular "Novosti" newscast, broadcasts a 3-minute recorded video report on Moscow Mayor Luzhkov and Pankratov, head of the Moscow main administration of internal affairs, meeting journalists in the Moscow mayor's office this evening

Pankratov displays some of the homemade weapons used "by those who took part in this so-called peaceful demonstration," including stones, chains, metal bars. Pankratov says: "The actions of these demonstrators shows that they did not want to enter into peaceful negotiation, either with the authorities or the militia. They immediately went in for confrontation."

Moscow Mayor Luzhkov says that "the group of Communists, the National Salvation Front, and the Union of Officers demanded that they should be granted the possibility of holding a demonstration on Red Square. Given that several other organizations, including the trade unions, planned to go on to Red Square at the same time, the president and the presidential apparatus decided that Red Square should not be given to anyone, so as not to give any advantage to any organizations." The mayor's office offered these organizations Oktyabrskaya Square and Gorkiy Park, where the necessary arrangements for holding a rally were made. However, Luzhkov says, the demonstrators moved toward Red Square and then toward Leninskiy Prospekt, "crushing everything that came in their path. Here something new in the actions of these groups emerged. We saw in the ranks of the demonstrators armed workers' detachments [boyevaya druzhina], squads of thugs specially prepared to break their way through, and to do so using cold steel weapons," Luzhkov concludes.

Rally Begins Again Outside Parliament

LD0105185393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 1 May 93

[Excerpt] Members of an anti-government demonstration in Moscow, which was broken up riot by police early in the day, have again gathered outside the building of the Russian parliament. Up to 5,000 angry communists and hardliners are chanting slogans in support of demands for the resignation of President Yeltsin and for an emergency session of the Congress of People's Deputies. The leader of the communist Moscow Workers' Movement called on the crowd to stay on until the Congress convened to overthrow, as he put it, the Yeltsin regime.

One opposition leader, speaking through a loudspeaker, told the crowd to arm itself and form a people's home guard.

The demonstrators started to put up barricades around the parliament building, using metal bars and pipes from a nearby construction site. [passage omitted]

CPSU Scores Yeltsin's 'Bloody Battle'

LD0105192293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] We received a telephone call at our studio this evening from Sergey Skvortsov, who introduced himself as secretary-coordinator of the CPSU Central Committee. He made the following statement:

[Begin Skvortsov recording] The Yeltsin regime has marred the state holiday of 1 May by carrying out a bloody battle against peaceful demonstrators. Trampling on all and every law, the regime is striving to intimidate the opposition forces by deciding to show them that, following 25 April, it is the complete master of the situation.

The CPSU leadership calls on all honest people to protest against the onslaught of reaction. We appeal to the Russian Supreme Soviet and Moscow City Council to immediately convene in order to discuss the situation that has emerged. We demand that the procuracy bodies undertake a thorough investigation and punish the organizers and those who committed the violence against the demonstrators. [end recording]

We also hope that the Moscow Procuracy will carry out a thorough investigation and that those guilty will be punished.

Khasbulatov Spokesman Issues Statement

LD0105190493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1826 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 1 May—Today Konstantin Zlobin, press secretary of the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, issued the following statement from the Supreme Soviet parliamentary press service:

"This year's celebration of 1 May has been marred in Moscow by acts of crude violence - there was bloodshed on city streets.

"These events are another confirmation of the disintegration of society, which has been deepened by the recent referendum, held at the initiative of the Russian Federation president.

"The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and all sane people have warned many times that when confrontation in society is consciously incited and permanently exacerbated, it can have a perilous effect.

"The facts show that, instead of ensuring a calm celebratory procession, the bodies of law and order themselves provoked unrest and used crude violence—truncheons, tear gas, and water cannons—to dispel the demonstration. There are numerous casualties.

"It is clear that these events are needed by those who would resort to anything, even to bloodshed, to find an excuse to impose emergency sanctions which would restrict citizens' democratic rights and freedoms."

Anpilov Addresses White House Gathering

LD0105221693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2012 GMT 1 May 93

[Report by Petr Fil; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Our film crew arrived at the Russian White House by eight o'clock this evening. About 200 people had gathered at the square next to the eighth entrance at the rear of the parliament. We were told that they had listened to explanations from Viktor Anpilov and Anatoliy Lukyanov relating to today's events in Moscow. Toward evening the demonstrators' passions had apparently abated. However, some of them energetically tried to stop us from filming. The final chord in Anpilov's speech was a call to proceed to militia station No. 157, where, according to the information of the leader of the Moscow Workers' Movement, about eight of the demonstrators detained by law enforcement bodies in the course of today are being held. Anpilov called for the matter to be tackled in a peaceful manner with the head of the militia station. The call met with approval among those who had gathered. With this, the Moscow Workers' Movement finished its work for today. [video shows gathering; sign on barricade reads "Yeltsin is a thief"]

White House Rally Continues 2 May

LD0205073993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 2 Apr 93

[Excerpts] This morning up to 100 people have gathered outside the walls of the Russian White House under red banners. The organizers of this demonstration evidently are the same as the organizers of yesterday's march along Leninskiy Prospekt which ended in clashes between the demonstrators and militia. They have managed to update their slogans overnight. After a tragic 1 May, they are calling Boris Yeltsin the butcher of Russia. As ITAR-TASS reports, as of 1000 no one from the Supreme Soviet leadership has gone out to them, either to request them to disperse calmly or to make any political statements or appeals. [passage omitted]

Correspondents accredited at the Supreme Soviet expect that Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the parliament, and his deputies will appear at their places of work later.

Prosecutor's Office Inquiry Detailed

LD0205095993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0944 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—An investigation team of the office of the prosecutor-general of the Russian Federation, headed by Georgiy Chuglazov, senior investigator of particularly important cases, has been set up to inquire into mass riots that took place in Moscow on Saturday [1 May], Aleksandr Zvyagintsev, chief of the Prosecutor's Office Centre for Information and Public Relations, announced.

Criminal proceedings were instituted on the strength of the signs of an offence listed in Article 79 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation—mass riots—envisaging a penalty ranging from two to fifteen years' deprivation of freedom.

A decision to set up an investigation group was taken on Sunday morning at an organisational meeting at the office of the prosecutor-general, Yevgeniy Lisov, deputy prosecutor-general in charge of investigation, told ITAR-TASS.

The investigation team includes experienced personnel of the Prosecutor's Office, the Interior Ministry and the Ministry of Security of the Russian Federation.

The team has already begun primary investigative actions—they continue to survey the scene of rioting, question the victims, demonstrators, and those who ensured the maintenance of law and order, and scrutinise the legitimacy of actions of both demonstration organisers and personnel of the law inforcement system, Lisov said.

The investigation activities have already resulted in indentifying several tens of people who were direct participants in the developments. The involvement of those people and other persons in the rioting "is being actively verified by investigators", Lisov added.

Nearly 500 Gather at White House

LD0205101593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1000 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—Radical communists and their supporters staged a demonstration near the Russian

Parliament building here on Sunday under anti-government slogans, some of which are obviously instigatory ones, such as, for example, "the country will be saved only by Russian tanks."

By noon approximately 500 people, among them Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, gathered outside the Russian White House.

Actions of Authorities Condemned

LD0205102193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1008 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—The leaders of the Rossiiskoye Yedinstvo (Russian Unity) parliamentary opposition bloc have called on "the international public and foreign journalists to condemn the anti-constitutional actions of the Russian authorities that encroached on fundamental human rights—the freedom of speech, assembly, meetings and demonstrations".

In an appeal circulated on Sunday [2 May], they set out their version of what happened on Gagarin Square in Moscow on Saturday. According to this version, "demonstrators' clash with Omon (riot police) personnel was planned in advance and provoked by those power-wielding agencies who need, at all costs, even at the price of spilling the blood of defenceless people, to divert attention from the appalling position in which the peoples of Russia have found themselves as a result of the 'shock therapy' being effected by the B.N. Yeltsin government according to advice from the International Monetary Fund".

Russian Federation people's deputies Mikhail Astafyev, Vladimir Isakov, Ilya Konstantinov and others maintain that the authorities' actions were aimed at "humiliating and insulting demonstrators" and at bringing about "retaliatory resistance" as a pretext for imposing a state of emergency.

The authors of the appeal point out that the presidential instruction to close central squares to meetings and demonstrations was issued two days prior to the Mayday. The Moscow mayor's office then fixed a new, shortened route for the demonstration.

Opposition leaders assert that law and order maintenance personnel acted with the use of cruel methods with the application of special means, including the cheryomukha toxic gas (the latter has already been refuted by the authorities).

RDRM Blames 'National-Communist Forces'

LD0205120093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1139 GMT 2 May 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—The Russian Democratic Reform Movement (RDRM) has laid the blame for the "blood spilt in Moscow" on "national-communists". In a statement circulated on Sunday [2 May], the RDRM "categorically condemns the course of the national-communist forces and the Supreme Soviet (parliament), controlled by them, towards an aggravation of the situation in the country, strongarm methods of struggle, and the unleashing of a civil war".

The clashes provoked on Gagarin Square here on May 1 were aimed, in the opinion of the RDRM, at bringing about a situation that would justify the convocation of an emergency congress in order to subsequently accuse the president of bloody riots and "convince the country that the government is not in a position to ensure order". The national-communists sought to arrogate a "right brazenly to break law at any time and in any place", the RDRM statement points out.

The RDRM declared in support of the Moscow Government's actions to protect Moscow and Muscovites from "rowdy forces" and urged all political parties and movements, "interested in overcoming the crisis legally on the basis of a new constitution", to convene a round-table meeting in order to call for immediate convocation of a constitutional assembly.

Opposition Cited; Injured Recuperating

LD0205150293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] In their speeches today in front of journalists on the square outside the Russian House of Soviets, representatives of the National Salvation Front parliamentary opposition insisted that the May Day procession on Leninskiy Prospekt had been of an exclusively peaceful nature. Mikhail Astafyev, leader of the Russian Unity opposition parliamentary faction, said that his bloc had demanded that a special session of the Russian Supreme Soviet be convened immediately. I would like to note that the impromptu news conference took place in the same place where Boris Yeltisin called for a resolute rejection of the coup plotters during the August 1991 events.

This evening about 1,000 organizers and participants in yesterday's demonstration continued their rally with red banners and placards in front of the Russian White House.

Meanwhile the condition of Vladimir Tolokneyev of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON], who was dangerously wounded yesterday afternoon in the clashes with demonstrators in Gagarin Square in Moscow, remains grave. We were told this at the First Gradskiy Hospital, where the militia man was admitted in an unconscious state.

Things are better for the 10 OMON men who were admitted to Sklifosofskiy Institute yesterday. All of them were treated in the out-patient department and as of this

morning only (German Maslennikov), who received bruises, an abrasion on the top of the head, and a rib fracture, was still in hospital.

Anpilov Calls For 'Anti-Yeltsin Graffiti'

LD0205151493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 May—At about 1800 today about 500 supporters of the "Working Russia" movement and the National Salvation Front were continuing discussion of yesterday's events in Gagarin Square and their plan of action for the next few days at their meeting in front of Russia's House of Soviets.

Viktor Anpilov, the leader of "Working Russia," called on all his supporters to meet at 1000 in the morning on 9 May on the square at Belarus Station to start another procession through Moscow.

In all probability addressing people's deputies present at the rally, he proposed the convening of an emergency Congress of People's Deputies and the removal of Ruslan Khasbulatov from the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet, electing a "Russian leader" in his place. The candidacies of Mikhail Astafyev and Sergey Baburin [cochairmen of the National Salvation Front] were specifically named.

Developing a program for the "irreconcilable opposition's" immediate actions, Viktor Anpilov called on "Working Russia" activists to arm themselves with chalk and paint and to cover the capital's fences with anti-Yeltsin graffiti.

Opposition Urges Parliament To Convene

LD0205154093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1425 GMT 2 May 93

[By correspondent Sergey Yegorov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An appeal by the Public Committee for the Protection of the Constitution and the Constitutional System in Russia was read out today to journalists near the building of the Russian Supreme Soviet where supporters of the opposition forces have gathered. The appeal formulates the opposition's point of view on the May Day events. The appeal includes the following demands: to urgently convene a special session of the Supreme Soviet; to set up an independent parliamentary commission; and to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate all circumstances of the case.

The appeal by the public committee which includes the Russian Unity bloc, the Union of Officers, the Party of Constitutional Democrats, and the Party of Liberal Democrats lays the blame for yesterday's bloodshed on the Russian authorities and describes their actions as being directed against the people. From the opposition's point of view, an offensive against the human rights and freedoms of the Russian citizens is being prepared, and a provocation was staged on 1 May against national and social stability.

Zyuganov To Meet Chernomyrdin

LD0205170593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Gennadiy Zyuganov, one of the leaders of the National Salvation Front, has agreed to meet with Viktor Chernomyrdin, head of the Russian government, a RIA correspondent was informed by Zyuganov at the rally outside the White House on Sunday [2 May]. There was no information on when the meeting will take place. In Zyuganov's words, the opposition does not want an escalation of violence. He also spoke out against the whipping up of feeling against the militia and the OMON [special-purpose militia detachment].

Parliament Linked With Demonstrations

LD0205164093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1623 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—Representatives of the parliamentary Coalition of Reforms and of the Russian president's office assessed the May Day clashes of demonstrators with militia as an action planned by the joint forces of the left-and-right opposition.

At a news conference in the building of the Federal Information Centre on Sunday [2 May], Sergey Yushenkov, first deputy head of the centre, read out a statement pointing to the link between leaders of the Russian Parliament and organisers of the May Day demonstration.

Reporters were told that from the contents of the report of the Russian Parliament's press service circulated immediately after the meeting between First Deputy Speaker of the Russian Parliament Yuriy Voronin and people's deputies who masterminded the May Day demonstration "it became apparent that leaders of the Russian Parliament took the side of the extremist forces." "The direct contact between the leaders of the National Salvation Front, members of the State Emergency Committee and some leaders of the Russian Parliament have thus become obvious," the statement says.

Deputy Head of the Russian President's Office Vyacheslav Volkov did not rule out that the May Day events may have been planned by the Russian Parliament. "Having lost the referendum, the Supreme Soviet, the communist party and members of the State Emergency Committee may have planned the action to provoke law enforcement bodies and the president to vigorous actions to have a pretext to blame them for whipping up passions," he said. He believes the chairmen of the parliamentary chambers should call a

meeting of the chambers and hold a joint meeting before 4 P.M. on Monday. Otherwise, from May 4 "the presidential office will be prepared to offer an opportunity to all people's deputies wishing to discuss this problem to do so in the presidential press centre in the Kremlin."

Addressing the news conference, Russian people's deputies Vladimir Varov and Anatoliy Shabad demanded an urgent convocation of the Congress of People's Deputies "for the implementation of the referendum's results." Varov believes a special committee should be formed "to dissolve the anti-popular parliamentary structures."

The participants in the news conference declared in favour of permitting war veterans to hold a manifestation on Poklonnaya Gora. They believe the Russian president should participate in the manifestation so as not to allow the holding of the manifestation on the Victory Day by the same persons as on the May Day.

Opposition Applies For 9 May Rally

LD0205180793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] The rally organized by the Moscow Workers' Movement and the National Salvation Front in front of the Russian Federation House of Soviets will last until 2300 this evening, according to its organizers, and it will resume at 0800 tomorrow. ITAR-TASS reports that those addressing the rally have continued to set out and clarify their version of the events of 1 May on Gagarin Square, and to refute the media reports. The crux of this version is that it was the militia officers who were the perpetrators of the bloodshed and the instigators of the arson. Probably in order to stress their law-abiding attitude, eyewitnesses and those who took part in the events of 1 May have stated their readiness to hand back to the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] officers, in a solemn ceremony, the helmets and shields abandoned yesterday on Gagarin Square which have passed into the hands of the demonstrators.

According to those who spoke, the Moscow Workers' Movement has applied to the Moscow mayor's office to hold a rally in honor of Victory Day on 9 May. They stated that in accordance with legislation, the proposed route may be rejected by the authorities, but they are obliged to name an alternative one. If the event is banned altogether, the activists of the Moscow Workers' Movement promise, and I quote, to prepare for the rally properly and not to arrive at the point of assembly empty-handed.

Filatov on Consequences of Events

LD0205221693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Betwork in Russian 1800 GMT 2 May 93

[Studio interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, head of Russian president's administration, by anchorman Yevgeniy Kiselev; from the "Itogi" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Kiselev] Sergey Aleksandrovich, tell me, have you discussed the events which took place yesterday in Moscow with the president?

[Filatov] Unfortunately, no. I have not managed to, but I, of all people know the president's point of view.

[Kiselev] Can you share it with us?

[Filatov] In general he is concerned by what happened. First, I would like to extend my sympathy to all those who were affected and their families, because this has been very painful and a great sorrow for all us, turning a holiday—and using it for such a confrontation and struggle, effectively a struggle with the people.

[Kiselev] At present, it is not a question of weeks, or even days but perhaps hours: the opposition has already made it quite clear that they intend to repeat what happened in Moscow, on 9 May and, so to speak, are trying to intimidate people, to make them think that things will get even worse, even more terrible.

[Filatov] That is right. Therefore, the president issued an instruction yesterday on carrying out an investigation as quickly as possible. I think what should be done first is that those who are to blame must be found and punished, of course. Society must be protected and these further attempts must be prevented, especially since on the 9th—I think that these madmen might well place disabled people and those who took part in the great fatherland war at the front of the procession, as happened here, in my opinion. In the ranks of demonstrators which came behind them, there were people who did not for one minute think or expect that there would be such provocative situations. And, of course, many of them were also victims of this.

[Kiselev] But this is the procuracy's affair and the affair of the law enforcement and investigation bodies of inquiry. What measures could be taken to prevent this unleashing of violence and extremism which is already spilling over from the halls of the political meetings onto the streets? Put crudely, is it possible that emergency measures could be introduced, going as far as a state of emergency? Is this a prerogative of the president?

[Filatov] I heard from the organizers of yesterday's actions that it was all planned with a view to getting a state of emergency introduced in Moscow or in the country, but as you can see they were wide of the mark. Another hoax was deliberately perpetrated, which now plays into the hands of those who are unable to be losers in politics. I think that we must take all possible measures, one of which is that people's deputies will have to be involved. Many of them are sensible, and they can demand that the Supreme Soviet create an atmosphere and a normal climate inside the Supreme Soviet. After all, this madness is coming precisely from the Supreme Soviet.

[Kiselev] So, you believe there is some kind of direct link between the activities of the parliamentary opposition

or, let's say, the most extreme anti-presidential figures in the parliament and the organizers of this rally?

[Filatov] This link is obvious. See for yourself. On the first day when people were already celebrating the victory at the referendum, on the same, first day, on 26 April, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet held a sitting and gave its first assessment of its results. The assessment was negative, aggressive, and militant, so to speak and look who initiated it. The initiators are people's deputies again, the leaders of these fronts, of the communist party, right? The most aggressive opposition in the Supreme Soviet is formed by the Russian Unity, the National Salvation Front, and Communists of Russia. Incidentally, the top officials of the Supreme Soviet all came at one time from the Communists of Russia movement.

[Kiselev] Sergey Aleksandrovich, some people are currently in favor of another congress being convened. How real is this, in your view? The congress should take place in mid-May, but some people propose that it should be convened now. What consequences can this have?

[Filatov] I do not know whether a congress should be called, but I think an emergency Supreme Soviet session should be called for the question to be considered. The main thing is that the deputies' immunity should be taken away from them while the investigation into the events is under way. For the organizers of the affair must be called to account. They must face the investigation, just like everyone else. They must take full responsibility for what has happened. A total of 150 people were beaten up; this is no joke.

[Kiselev] But it was not they who beat them up.

[Filatov] They announced their intention to hold a rally, and they should bear full responsibility since they failed to carry out what they undertook. It was Anpilov, one of the organisers of the rally, who called on people to take part in this march. I think that he understood what he was inciting the people to do, because thugs were placed in the front ranks of the marchers. Therefore, it seems to me that the body of deputies must display great firmness here, because in this way we could place out country on the verge of war.

[Kiselev] As for presidential power, is Boris Nikolayevich ready to act really decisively now?

[Filatov] Yes.

[Kiselev] Thank you, Sergey Aleksandrovich. Sergey Filatov, the head of the administration of the Russian president, has been our studio guest.

Repercussions of Disturbances Viewed

LD0205212893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2022 GMT 2 May 93

[By correspondent Mikhail Zotov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Strengthened militia patrols were seen in the streets of Moscow on Sunday [2 May].

Representatives of the opposition intend on Monday morning to congregate again by the Russian Parliament building. The Saturday clashes between communist sympathizers and the militia remain in the forefront of speeches by various political figures.

[Zotov] A rally of opposition sympathizers, together with the National Salvation Front, Working Russia, and a number of other organizations continued by the House of the Russian Federation Soviets in Moscow on Sunday. According to INTERFAX, barricades in rows of two were being built along the approaches to the White House. Those taking part in the rally said that it was the militia employees themselves who are to be blamed for the clashes in Moscow on 1 May and for instances of arson. At the same time, those taking part in the 1 May events stated they are ready to triumphantly hand back to the OMON [special purpose militia detachments] their helmets and shields abandoned at Gagarin Square yesterday. The opposition leaders state that the law and order people used harsh tactics and the Cheremukha special chemical agents. Spokesmen for the Ministry of Internal Affairs deny this.

In the meantime, more than 20 of the most active participants in the clashes, detained on 1 May, have already been released. Investigations will determine the course of subsequent developments. Also on 2 May, Ruslan Khasbulatov set up a commission of deputies to investigate, to quote the document, the causes and circumstances of the use of force against the participants in the peaceful demonstration on the state holiday of 1 May. According to RIA, Zyuganov, the communist leader, spoke to Prime Minister Chernomyrdin on the telephone and a meeting was agreed between them.

Those who sustained serious injuries in the clashes seem to have been forgotten in all this: among the demonstrators, the retired Colonel (German Maslennikov), with a closed fracture of the seventh rib; and Vladimir Tolokneyev from the OMON, who is in a serious condition in an intensive care unit.

The office of the Russian general procuracy has started criminal proceedings on the basis of article 79 of the criminal code—mass disturbances—which provides for terms of imprisonment for two to 15 years. [video shows rally; placard reads: "People, remember 1 May 93. The OMON people are guilty of a massacre; they beat up the 1941-45 war veterans, women, and young people. Butcher Yeltsin must be put in the dock." Another placard says: "The people will win."]

White House Rally Continues 3 May

LD0305114393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] According to eyewitness accounts, about 100 activists of the irreconcilable opposition have continued

their rally outside the White House in Moscow today. The rally is being headed by Viktor Anpilov, leader of the Moscow Workers' Movement. Through a megaphone he is calling on his supporters to continue the anti-presidential campaign.

Russian Communists Demand Investigation

LD0305140093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party has protested strongly at the provocative actions of the Moscow authorities. It demanded an immediate resumption of the Supreme Soviet session and the establishment of a parliamentary investigation into the events which took place on May Day.

Yeltsin, Luzhkov Urged To Resign

LD0305140393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1230 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports that today supporters of pro-communist and national-patriotic movements continued picketing the building of the Russian Supreme Soviet. They are not very friendly and address everybody who, in their opinion, does not support ideas of the supporters of communism using extremely rude words and issuing threats. They have slept near the walls of the Russian House of Soviets and in the morning they resumed collecting signatures for convening an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies. The organizers of this action believe that President Boris Yeltsin and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov should give up their posts before the congress starts. They think that the congress should at last solve the question of the position of mass media.

Low Attendance at Trade Unions' May Day Meeting

LD0105125893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 1 May 93

[Report by correspondetn Skvortsov from Manezh Square in Moscow; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The relative under-attendance of the trade union meeting on Manezh Square could be explained not only by good weather and the start of the dacha season, but also by the referendum and its results which became a kind of an interim finish in the long-drawn handicap race of the politicians. Unity, solidarity, and rights of the people—these are the main slogans of the meeting which attracted nearly 10,000 of Muscovites, according to militia data. People were listening to the speakers in the same absent-minded fashion as they used to listen to those incantations from the loudspeakers which glorified the Communist Party, the Soviet Army, the Soviet women, and the Soviet youth in the old times. There was no trace of the old rally passions here. We support democracy, the president, and the reforms and we are against unemployment, low wages, and the drop in production output, assured the union leaders. We are not against the rich, we are against poverty. Those who do real work should live well. The unions support the stated social orientation of the reforms but demand that the government and the president support their words with deeds.

Rally Takes Place 'Calmly'

LD0105152293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 May 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Suntsov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today's clashes are undoubtedly a reaction to the results of the referendum which confirmed the legitimacy of the president and the course of his socio-economic reforms. Nevertheless, the rally of trade unions which was not allowed on Red Square in the end, took place calmly on Manezh Square.

[Suntsov] This is the 102nd time that May Day, the day of working people's solidarity, has been celebrated in Moscow. "Unity", "Solidarity", "The Rights of Working Man" were the slogans of the May Day demonstration [manifestatsiya] held by the trade unions. Representatives of trade union organizations from various cities of Russia were among the ranks of the demonstrators. [passage omitted]

The trade unions assessed the ban on holding a rally on Red Square as the arbitrariness of certain bureaucrats. As far as the speeches are concerned, representatives of the labor collectives sharply criticized the government's present policy. Leaders of the trade union movement spoke out for the implementation of the agreement with the government and for social partnership. The main demands are the preservation of jobs, the stabilization of production, and the raising of wages to subsistence level.

ITAR-TASS Rounds up Celebrations Throughout Russia

LD0105161293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]— Novgorod—police blocked traffic movement on the central streets of this regional centre in vain. Hardly half of a thousand people came to participate in the May Day march and rally which were announced by various parties and movements.

Kaliningrad—The May Day rally, which was convened by the local organisations of the Russian Communist Party, the All-Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the National Salvation Front, involved some 800 people.

Tambov—The city with a population of 300,000, which voted to put trust in President Yeltsin, was surprising passive in marking the holiday. Only several hundred people attended the rally that was organised by the regional trade union federation.

Yaroslavl—Communists of Yaroslavl marked May Day today with a rally and a concert. Speakers at the rally on Sovetskaya Square in downtown Yaroslavl called for resurrecting the socialist state and hailed the holiday of the working people's solidarity. However, the rally brought together only about five hundred people.

Murmansk—The residents of Murmansk, a city beyond the Polar Circle, marked the holiday very modestly. Only several hundred people came to attend a meeting organised by the regional Council of Independent Trade Unions. There were no customary speeches by local leaders of various parties and movements here. People in several other cities and villages of the Kola Peninsula marked May Day with holiday concerts staged on open platforms.

Nizhny Novgorod—The rally, which was mounted by the movement Trudovoi Nizny Novgorod and pro-communist and pro-socialist party organisations, drew not more than 600 people.

St. Petersburg—A meeting held on St. Petersburg's Dvortsovaya Square today was organised by the leaders of the united opposition which groups the Russian Communist Workers' Party, the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, the Movement Nashi and other organisations of the Communist and national-partiotic orientation. There is no information on the number of participants.

Ulyanovsk—Mostly elderly people responded to the call by the public movement Trudovoy Ulyanovsk to mark May Day collectively with demonstrations. They marched down the city's central streets holding up red banners. A rally in support of Russia's representative power was held on the bank of the Volga River with their participation. Folk-lore ensembles offered a versatile concert programme for all of the rest residents of Ulyanovsk.

Chita Official Faults Authorities for Riots

LD0205155193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1524 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Fomin]

[Text] Chita May 2 TASS—"The office of the public prosecutor, the executive authorities also have moral responsibility for May Day clashes in Moscow, Valeriy Yerokhin, chairman of the Chita branch of the Public Committee of Russian Reform, told ITAR- TASS. [quotation marks as received]

"It should be recalled that gatherings of national communists always resulted in some provocations. And how many times they urged people to take up arms. Meanwhile, organs of the Public Prosecutor's Office, executive authorities, instead of using law, either winked at what was taking place or courted extremists. This tolerance, naturally, was to lead to a tragedy. It is time to show resolution. Articles of the criminal code should be applied not only to those who, armed with chains and rods, attacked militiamen, but also to those who trained and urged militants, who openly make calls from rostrums to create of armed units and forcibly to depose the lawful authorities", Yerokhin said.

Political Issues

Yeltsin May Be 'Forced' To Ban Communist Groups

LD0205184893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] In an interview to one of Moscow's radio stations, the deputy head of the Russian president's administration, Vyacheslav Volkov [as heard], has said that President Boris Yeltsin will be most probably forced to ban pro-communist organizations, initiators of the disturbances on the first of this month.

Presidential Council Session Viewed

PM3004160193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 1

[Oleg Odnokolenko report: "After Referendum. Presidential Council Summed Up and Defined Strategy"]

[Text] As already reported, a routine session of the Presidential Council was held last Wednesday, 28 April. The session was held behind closed doors in one of the Kremlin's most impressive halls—the Catherine Hall. Representatives of the mass media, who were admitted to the holy of holies literally for a few minutes, were not able to hear very much—just the first words of the president, who thanked his closest colleagues for the work done on the eve of the referendum and congratulated them on the victory—after which they left the hall.

The session lasted three hours and, to judge from the news conference held later, resembled a council of war. In other words, if we cast aside the details, the president's entourage was determining how to make the most effective use of the referendum results, but first there was a discussion of the results of the 25 April vote.

Answering journalists' questions, Presidential Council Member Georgiy Satarov stated that the president won a victory, but "somewhat not in the planned position." The Russians had been expected to come out more decisively in support of Boris Yeltsin also on the question of early reelections of people's deputies. The actual structure of political preferences among the regions also seems somewhat unexpected. This was spoken of by the other main speaker at the session—Leonid Smirnyagin, a Moscow State University docent. Whereas 29 regions

voted against Boris Yeltsin in the election, this time only 25 did. It is a more convincing victory than in 1991, but something else is noteworthy—this time many "procommunist" regions voted for the president, while those where he previously had an overwhelming majority of supporters did not support him this time. This picture is characteristic of Ossetia and Ingushetia, for example, but the most depressing thing, as Leonid Smirnyagin pointed out, "is the bad failure in central Russia." It is balanced by the absolute support for the president and his team in Siberia and the Far East and the Army's support. According to Dmitriy Volkogonov's data, which were read out during the session, approximately 8 million servicemen and members of their families cast their votes for Boris Yeltsin. From this it is possible to conclude that the army unconditionally supported its supreme commander in chief.

The second question—approval of the economic course—was the most "perfidious." From a number of statements by Presidential Council members it is possible to draw the conclusion that precisely this question elicited the biggest fears. It turns out now that the people's deputies themselves placed the chief trump card in the president's hands—his economic policy received support. Presidential Council members also are not inclined to overdramatize the results of the vote on the question of the deputies' reelections. No, there is no qualified majority, Leonid Smirnyagin stated, but a scandalous situation has taken shape for the Congress. According to his calculations, more than 70 million Russians voted against the present corps of deputies, and this is a larger number of votes than they gained, in total, at the time of the elections in 1990. This means, Georgiy Satarov believes, that the people have nonetheless had their say, and the Supreme Soviet cannot disregard this, if only for moral reasons.

So, here are the main results of the referendum. The president has gained legitimacy, and the Presidential Council members were unanimous that Boris Yeltsin must now display "adequate legislative activeness." In their turn the Congress, parliament, and the soviets have lost legitimacy and no longer have either the moral, the juridical, or the constitutional right to touch the president's prerogatives or to interfere in the government's affairs. In other words, as was emphasized, the president has gained the right to speak in Russia's name, while the soviets have lost this right, for the old statehood, which was formed during the time of Soviet power, no longer exists de facto.

But, apart from the results, the chief question examined in the Presidential Council was the question of the new constitution. As Sergey Alekseyev pointed out, there is no point in procrastinating, and it must be adopted this year. The decisive role here belongs to the components of the federation. The very next day, 29 April, addressing the session of the Council of Heads of the Republics Within the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin submitted the draft of the new constitution. He also proposed convening a constitutional assembly or conference to examine the draft. So the question of whether to act together with the Congress or without it seems to have been decided. As far as can be judged, the president has taken on board precisely the advice given by the most radical members of the Presidential Council. At the same time a warning was also given during the session: We should not be too seduced by the referendum results. The situation has moved on to a new stage and could be exacerbated. Unfortunately, we have all grasped from our own experience already that changes do not proceed smoothly. One thing is comforting: The breakup of Russia, of which so much has been said and with which we have been intimidated so much, has not happened.

Kozyrev Cited on Russian Foreign Policy Concept

PM2904122993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 29 Apr 93 p 1

[Article by Pavel Shinkarenko: "Diplomats Received Tested Compass"]

[Text] A directive of the Russian Federation president has put into operation the Concept of the Russian Federation's Foreign Policy.

After discussion at the Foreign Ministry, the foreign policy council, and in parliament, the concept has been approved by the president and has become an operational document. Diplomats and dealers, politicians and ordinary Russian citizens have received a tested compass with which it will be easy to determine the direction in which the country is moving in world events.

Once, in a talk with a ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, speaking of the new concept, noted: "We understand it not as some 'CPSU program' given once and for all but as a mobile system of guidelines on the most important avenues of Russia's foreign policy activity."

Today this "system of coordinates" is reinforced by the president's decision. It is determined by the long-term tasks of Russia's rebirth as a democratic, free country ensuring favorable conditions for the formation of a modern, dynamic economy and guaranteeing a dignified life for Russians and our financial and economic independence. Prerequisites are also created for the Russian Federation's full and natural inclusion in the world community."

One of the main priorities is the formation of a zone of good-neighborliness around Russian borders. "In transferring that task to the practical plane," Andrey Kozyrev told me, "the Russian leadership has, first, succeeded in avoiding the bloody collapse of a totalitarian state along the lines of the Yugoslav scenario; second, the formation, albeit critical, of the CIS has begun as an international organization of a regional nature alongside the building of new bilateral relations with the former USSR republics; and third the opportunities and the need have emerged to advance along the path of integration."

New Concept Outlined

PM3004124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

[Interview with Oleg Osobenkov, deputy chief of the Russian Security Council Strategic Security Administration and chief of the Department for the Analysis and Preparation of Foreign Policy Decisions, by Dmitriy Kosyrev under the "Foreign Policy" rubric; place and date not given: "The Russian State's Priorities in the International Arena"]

[Text] Oleg Osobenkov, deputy chief of the Russian Security Council Administration of Strategic Security and chief of the Department for the Analysis and Preparation of Foreign Policy Decisions, converses with ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's diplomatic observer on the just-elaborated "Basic Provisions of the Concept of Foreign Policy" of the country.

[Kosyrev] If I understand correctly, a clear, written definition of the correlation between the interests of Russia and the surrounding world with specific legal force has at last appeared in our state. Is that so?

[Osobenkov] Clearly it is. If I am not mistaken, there has been no such document in our state since or even, apparently, before 1917.

[Kosyrev] And indeed our foreign policy actions have been disappearing into a kind of limbo for a long time now: Take, for example, START II, our conduct in the Yugoslav conflict, or our position regarding Iraq. What have we gotten right and what wrong? Everyone accuses everyone else of lacking patriotism. But what patriotism can there be if nobody knows what the fatherland's interests are. But let us look at how they are defined in this document.

[Osobenkov] Let's start with the crux of the document, which has been examined and approved by the Security Council and just confirmed by directive of the president. The document is defined as the basis of the foreign policy activity of the organs of executive power.

Let's look, then, at patriotism and the interests of the fatherland. What is foreign policy in general? In our country it used to be an instrument of defense and the advancement of ideological precepts in the outside world, everything else was secondary. Now foreign policy is a means to ensure the vital interests of the state, society, and its citizens.

[Kosyrev] These interests, as I understand them, can be reduced to simple things: Namely, ensuring growth in the nation's prosperity, ensuring that what it produces is taken away by no one, ensuring...

[Osobenkov] It can be reduced to that. But let's look at how the now-official list of such interests looks. First: guaranteeing processes in the formation of the statehood of Russia; protecting its territorial integrity; then creating conditions which ensure the stability and irreversibility of the political and economic reforms; the Russian Federation's active and full participation in building a new system of international relations in which it is assured a fitting place; protection of the interests of Russian citizens abroad.

[Kosyrev] That is to say, it is neither an isolationist nor a "defensive" concept, it envisages securing Russia's role in the world as a major power...

[Osobenkov] Yes, the concept notes, for instance, that the collapse of the Soviet Union, which resulted in the formation of extensive regions of instability, is a key factor in the contemporary international situation. And in these conditions the further consolidation of the foundations of the developing democratic world order whereby states would closely collaborate to neutralize threats to international security while observing the principles of equal rights and mutual respect of interests assumes fundamental significance. Incidentally, the actions of certain powers bent on securing their hegemony on a global or regional level do not accord with this.

Russia, after all, for all its present crisis, does remain a great power in terms of its potential, its influence on the course of events in the world, and its responsibility. Regarding responsibility, Russia does bear special responsibility—this is simply a reality—for building a new system of positive relations among the states which previously belonged to the USSR. We are the guarantor of the stability of those relations for a whole number of natural reasons.

[Kosyrev] So even if we wanted to isolate ourselves, it would not work out anyway... Okay, but is there a threat to Russia?

[Osobenkov] That depends on what you understand by a threat... Our document does give it a definition. To wit, there can be or are factors which impede or could impede the realization of the country's vital interests. Our concept gears foreign policy toward enhancing the role of Russia as a reliable international partner in strengthening security and stability in international relations. Openness for us is in any case an inevitability, the question is how to act to ensure that it turns out to be beneficial to Russia.

Look, a bipolar system of international relations used to exist: Two superpowers, each of which had allies, plus neutrals existed. The world has now become multipolar, that is to say, far more complex; and the tasks of foreign policy are more complex too. For example, the document under discussion by us proposes that the violation of human rights and freedoms and armed conflicts in neighboring states be regarded as a threat to the country's security. Just recall what has been happening around us in recent months and you will see a host of illustrations of this thesis. Any steps aimed at weakening or undermining Russia's international positions also

constitute a threat. Take the question of how the process of "opening up" the Russian economy to the outside world is proceeding. If the process leads to a weakening of its economic autonomy, to the deterioration of its technological and industrial potential, and to our country's becoming established in the world economy [solely] by specialization in the supply of fuel and raw materials, that constitutes a threat. And one can pretty easily calculate its consequences in monetary or any other terms.

[Kosyrev] So the concept refers to the attempts to oust Russia from a number of foreign markets and restrict its access to advanced technologies...

[Osobenkov] It does so in direct fashion. It likewise mentions that thus far neither have the questions of command and control of the strategic forces of the former USSR been settled nor has the status of Russian troops on the territory of the states of the "new foreign parts" defined.

[Kosyrev] This winter I had occasion to read a roughly similar document prepared by the Foreign Ministry. It contains a list of priorities, that is to say, the relations with which group of countries must be put in first place, which in second place.

[Osobenkov] Our document has that too. There are foreign economic and military sections and a list of priorities. A section on the "new foreign parts," a section on Eastern Europe, on Russo-American relations... in which, incidentally, there is a provision on the prerequisites for partnership, and, moreover, it says that the development of such relations should be determined for our diplomatic service first and foremost by the interests of Russia, which in a number of instances may not coincide with U.S. interests.

[Kosyrev] But let us return to the Foreign Ministry document. What do we now have in front of us here? Who prepared the "Basic Provisions," and how was it done?

[Osobenkov] It was drafted by the Security Council's Interdepartmental Foreign Policy Commission. The document was worked on by representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Security Council apparatus, and several Supreme Soviet committees. Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov took a very active part. It is, after all, ultimately a general state document concerning which general state accord has to be achieved. All organs of executive power will be guided by it, as foreign policy in our country is and will remain a policy which is genuinely of a statewide nature rather than secret... I have already mentioned that after the commission the document was examined and approved by the Security Council and then by the president. It will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet, with which we have been in full contact during the work, and for that reason we are counting on a businesslike attitude to the document.

[Kosyrev] The question that arises here is: Is all this fine-tuning of the mechanism for state foreign policy decisionmaking?

[Osobenkov] In principle, yes. It would be strange if the executive organs were themselves to draft the basis of policy and carry it out themselves. Although in former times the whole mechanism for foreign policy decisionmaking frequently revolved around one person, who could make decisions aboard his plane. But note that we are talking not about everyday decisions but about the principles of foreign policy: its thrusts are defined in order to make it easier for everyone to work. The Security Council Interdepartmental Foreign Policy Commission was set up by directive of the president for such tasks. Now you can see what it is doing and how.

[Kosyrev] Did the Foreign Ministry object to this document?

[Osobenkov] All the representatives of departments taking part in the work expressed their own opinions on the text under discussion, and all opinions were taken into account and received every attention.

Kostikov: Yeltsin To Call Constitutional Assembly

MK3004093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Nadzharov report: "The President and His Constitution. Forceful Action Will Not Follow"]

[Text] According to Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, Boris Yeltsin's immediate plans include the adoption of a new Russian Constitution as soon as possible—which may occur against the will of the Supreme Soviet or the deputies' congress, which have their own version of the Fundamental Law.

People working in the president's administration believe that the parliament's version has become obsolete because it does not take into account the change of state structure confirmed by the referendum, and contains elements of socialist illusion from Russia's burdensome past.

A new Constitution can be "passed," in Vyacheslav Kostikov's view, if the Supreme Soviet responds to the president's wish and convenes a Constitutional Assembly on its own. If it fails to do so, Boris Yeltsin will issue an edict to that effect. The legitimacy of the president's actions, which was greatly boosted by the referendum, gives confidence that no one will try to call into question the lawfulness of his reform effort. Therefore, no extraordinary or, say, forceful actions are to be expected from the president's administration, Vyacheslav Kostikov said. There is simply no need for this.

Regarding the makeup of the Constitutional Assembly, the press secretary expressed his personal view that one-third of its members could be appointed by the

president, another third by the Supreme Soviet, and the remaining third by the Council of the Federation. Should the Supreme Soviet refuse to participate in forming a body that would by charged with adopting a new Constitution, it could be replaced by the Constitutional Court, Kostikov said.

The full interview with the president's press secretary will be published in an upcoming issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

Shakhray: Yeltsin Has Sole Right To Redraft Constitution

LD3004181893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray by correspondent Ivan Pankov; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pankov] There is a constitution in force plus two drafts. In your view, do these drafts represent two roads in opposite directions, or could they converge somewhere?

[Shakhray] Right now, the situation looks like this: We live in a new state, in the Russian Federation, which emerged from the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. Both the president and the Supreme Soviet, and also other authorities, were elected in that other state, which no longer exists. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet was correct when, analyzing the situation last year, he said that the Supreme Soviet and the president were lacking the necessary degree of legitimacy. In a new state there should be new elections and new institutions of state should be established. This transition has not yet taken place.

The president of the Russian Federation posed the question of confidence in him, and in the referendum of 25 April confirmed his legitimacy, that is, his lawful right to exercise executive state power. He received from the public an element of constituent power, that is, the power needed to form new institutions of state in Russia.

These processes are embodied in the new constitution for the Russian Federation that the president submitted yesterday to the constituent members of the Federation and had published.

People's deputies elected in that other state, which no longer exists, do not possess such a right. Therefore, we will view any kind of draft from any kind of group of deputies simply as a variation on the working draft, without any kind of constituent power behind it. Having said that, I cannot rule out that the current bodies of the Supreme Soviet, the Congress or deputies might play a certain part in the constitutional process. The initiative in this process, however, now belongs to the president of the Russian Federation.

[Pankov] Sergey Shakhray is 37 today, and we join all those wishing him a happy birthday.

Shakhray Views Post-Referendum Constitutional Options

LD0305143093 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0730 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Although the final results of the 25 April referendum will not be officially announced until 5 May, many politicians are already expressing their opinions and provisional assessments of them. Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee on Affairs of the Federation and Nationalities, and also member of the Security Council, touched on this during a news conference on the eve of the holiday.

Our correspondent Andrey Babayev reports:

[Babayev] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet just a year ago was saying that neither the power of the president nor that of the Supreme Soviet had sufficient legitimacy and all misfortunes arose from this. But today, when one can already say that the president has received the confidence of the people in the referendum and that the majority supports his policies, in Sergey Shakhray's opinion, the situation is changing.

[Begin Shakhray recording] The president of the Russian Federation has won the confidence of the people, and with a greater number of votes than in the presidential elections into the bargain. Now it is the institution of the presidency and the citizens of the Russian Federation which have the constituent power to form other institutions of the Russian state. And the adoption of a new constitution of the Russian Federation is the way to do this. The proposed draft constitution has been presented to the citizens of the Russian Federation, who have to put forward their proposals and comments regarding this draft by 20 May. Then, in May or June the next steps will be taken in creating the Constitution, the Basic Law of the Russian State.

We, along with citizens of the Russian Federation, have an unusual draft constitution of the Russian Federation - unusual in the sense that 70 percent of this draft is already in force. This is because the entire Federation Treaty is included in the draft constitution. Therefore, I am counting on a positive reaction from citizens of the Russian Federation, although it is clear to all that there will be proposals, and amendments and I hope that the text will be improved.

I think that the referendum on 25 April has well-defined juridicial consequences. It was a referendum, not an opinion poll, which Congress decided to hold. The referendum decisions have supreme juridicial force and do not need anyone's approval, and immediately come into force. The procedure for counting the votes for the questions in the referendum was examined by the Constitutional Court.

Thus, concerning what took place in the Russian Federation on 25 April - those decisions have supreme juridicial force throughout the territory of the Russian Federation and must be implemented.

The following are the specific consequences arising from this for the authorities:

The Supreme Soviet and other bodies and officials, are obliged, legally obliged, to annul all decisions aimed at curtailing the economic reforms.

The Supreme Soviet is obliged to adopt proposals by the government and the president on continuing these reforms - this is obligatory as result of the referendum.

And finally, the present corps of deputies is not now entitled to do three things on its own. The people, by expressing their confidence in the president and the government through a legally binding majority of votes, have deprived the present corps of deputies of the right to remove the president from office; they have deprived the corps of deputies of the right to force the government to resign; and they have deprived the corps of deputies of the right to adopt a constitution.

If a program of agreed action put forward by the president, who now has the legitimacy of the Congress' constituent power, is found, then the mechanism of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet could be put into action. It is not a question of their being disbanded or dissolved or suspended.

Now I'll deal with the procedure for adopting the constitution.

There are three scenarios. If the Congress of People's Deputies directly agrees to adopt the constitution proposed by the president and which the citizens of the Russian Federation have agreed on, then a legally workable outcome is also possible.

If Congress does not agree, then the constitution of the Russian Federation could be adopted by means of a referendum, and the constitution could be examined and approved by a constituent assembly. [end recording]

[Babayev] And this, in the words of Sergey Shakhray, is entirely justified in legal terms but not completely in constitutional terms since the will of the people takes precedence over the Supreme Soviet, the decisions of the Congress, and the president himself.

[Begin Shakhray recording] I am talking about the juridicial consequences of the referendum as a lawyer and specialist who has dealt with and is still dealing with consitutional law. I am talking about these consequences with the results of an expert analysis of the referendum and its juridicial consequences carried out by the leading lawyers in our country and with the assessments of foreign lawyers. If our Supreme Soviet does not agree with these assessments, then, once again, this will be our Supreme Soviet's stance.

I don't think we have to achieve uniformity here, what we need is to act according to the will of the referendum, act being the operative word - not have endless discussions - otherwise the credit in terms of confidence obtained at the referendum will again dwindle away. [end recording]

Rumyantsev Comments on Draft Constitution

LD3004160793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian parliament which, it seems, has done everything so far to drag out the adoption of our new constitution has now, after the referendum, sharply stepped up its work on its version of the basic law.

The draft which the Supreme Soviet is in favor of is known as the Oleg Rumyantsev constitution. He, as executive secretary of the constitutional commission, today gathered journalists in his office in the White House. He did not express particular joy regarding the fact that yesterday parliament suddenly adopted the long-awaited resolution on concluding work on his draft constitution, and moreover set 17 November as the date for a special Congress of People's Deputies for final approval of the constitutional draft which was adopted in principle 18 months ago.

Rumyantsev recalled that the version of the constitution proposed by his commission was at first given a hostile reception by deputies, but that now they have reconciled themselves to it. However, he did not explain why he thought this had happened. The deputies have shown a rare unanimity in the face of the threat of the appearance of an alternative version of the constitution developed by the presidential team and published in newspapers today.

Rumyantsev said that the appearance of the presidential draft is the declaration of dyarchy in the constitutional reform of Russia which, according to him, may fall into the arena of squabbles and cruel confrontations.

The executive secretary noted that the only way, in his view, is to link the two drafts in one, but he considers that only his version may be used as the basis.

Gavriil Popov Views Yeltsin Draft Constitution

LD0105114393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 1 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—The draft constitution submitted by the president is a version of the presidential-parliamentary republic, Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, believes. In his opinion, the provision of the new constitution dealing with the system of legislative authorities—a two-chamber parliament in which one of the chambers

will be made up of representatives of the republics and regions integrated in the federation, and the other one will be formed on the basis of representation of all citizens—is an "important guarantee of democracy".

Touching upon the problem of forming legislative bodies of power, Popov suggested that the state duma be divided into two parts: 150 seats should be given to constituencies, and the remaining 150—to political parties and movements.

Aside from it, Popov continued, the system of elections to the Federation Council gives grounds for some doubts. "The proposed system will probably prompt some nations to creating their own structures, in order to be represented at the Federation Council...It is necessary to keep half of the seat for nationalities, as envisaged by the draft constitution, while part of the second half should be given to the existing republics, autonomous districts and regions, and another part—to representatives of those nationalities of Russia, which do not have their own state structures.

Academician: Congress Must Participate in Constitution

LD3004142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—"The new Constitution of Russia cannot be legitimated without the participation of the Congress of People's Deputies," it is claimed by Academician Vladimir Kurdryavtsev, one of the country's leading public law experts.

"The congress will either have to set up a new body to adopt the constitution or to hold a referendum in order to sound the people's attitude to the new constitution," he told ITAR-TASS.

At the same time, Kurdryavtsev described the presidential draft of the new Russian Constitution, published here today, as an "acceptable and competent document". He said that the draft "embraces everything that should be present in a constitution". The law scholar particularly pinpointed the chapter on human rights, which has absorbed the principal provisions of all the existing international declarations and agreements.

Kudryavtsev also said that the presidential draft correctly reflected all the currently debated problems pertaining to the division of powers between the three branches of government.

Institute Researcher Advocates New Constitution

LD0205170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow May 2 TASS—A new constitution should be adopted, and the sooner the better. It is impossible to achieve accord on the basis of the present constitution. Grigoriy Manov, doctor of law, researcher of the Institute of the State and Law, told ITAR-TASS.

The existing constitution distorts real socio-political relations and also contains insoluble contradictions by combining two forms of rule: A republic of soviets and a presidential republic. "This is an absurdity which should be removed by making a choice", Manov said.

The new constitution should be adopted in a lawful way, in a calm atmosphere, Manov said. He believes it is quite reasonable that the president is striving to introduce in the constitution a number of provisions that would broaden the opportunities of a presidential republic.

The president has actually no powers to contain or counterbalance the legislative authority. Presidential power is actually unable to exert effect on parliament and the legislative authority, while the opposite is possible.

Therefore, it is natural that the president wants the constitution to include provisions to counterbalance the legislative authority.

As regards relations with the Constitutional Court and the judiciary authorities, the Constitutional Court can abrogate any presidential decree, although the Presidential Court was elected by the Congress of People's Deputies, while the head of state was elected by the whole people. Therefore the draft constitution envisages restraints and counterbalances to the judiciary authority, Manov said.

Manov believes the constitution should be adopted by a special assembly, no matter how it is called—a constituent assembly or a duma. "It is essential that it should represent all sections of society and should include professionals who realise what the meaning of the constitution is", Manov said.

Parliamentary Opposition Seen Adopting Own Constitution

MK3004110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova commentary published under the "Options" rubric under general headline: "What Will Be the Outcome of the Constitutional Reform Attempt?"]

[Text] Yesterday Boris Yeltsin, after officially presenting to the Federation's components (at a Kremlin conference of heads of regions) a new draft Constitution, announced a Constitutional Conference or, he then specified, a Constitutional Assembly. This "forum," according to the president, "by late May, early June" should prepare a "coordinated version of the text." The principle for forming the conference/assembly proposed by Yeltsin is

"two representatives from each region"—let us say, "from the legislative and the executive branches, preferably lawyers."

Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, described the path of constitutional reform chosen by the president as an "anticonstitutional coup." He stated that he did not intend to have anything to do with the president's draft (which, according to Stepanov, is full of "purely legal contradictions") pending the Constitutional Court's ruling on procedures for adopting the Constitution. The Karelian leader strictly adheres to the position that the fundamental law comes only under the jurisdiction of the Congress or a referendum. But this time in criticizing Yeltsin, Stepanov is dealing with a presidential statement that is extremely vague from the point of view of its legal implications. It is simply not worthwhile waiting for a ruling from the Constitutional Court since there are no grounds for an inquiry to be made into the constitutionality of Yeltsin's actions. The latter in his speech before the heads of the regions never said directly that the new Constitution would be adopted by a constitutional assembly. The president quite skillfully left for himself the possibility of acting both via referendum (according to Stepanov, this is legal) and via a Constitutional Assembly (which is not legal, according to Stepanov), and even through the deputy corps. There are some options.... In theory. But in practice the opposition to Yeltsin can already compare the current attempt to change the state structure to the one made in Novo-Ogarevo. And they can do approximately the same thing to Yeltsin that was once done to Gorbachev. But then inevitably—in a boomerang effect—they will get their own "pushcha" in Groznyy or Kazan [allusion to the Belovezhskaya Pushcha (Forest) agreements]. In all likelihood the president's opponents from the soviets will have enough sophistication not to use this primitive path, but for a second time (just as with the referendum on 25 April) will give Yeltsin "the kiss of death," regaining the initiative and themselves adopting a new Constitution. Their own. This tactic effectively deprives Yeltsin of maneuvering room. If he decides to appeal to the deputies (and this formality will obviously have to be observed), they will mark time and make a mockery of the whole undertaking. If Yeltsin were to act in parallel, first he has to persuade the Russian Federation's components, and second, if the Constitutional Assembly is unlawful and it is impossible to do it through the Congress, then there is only one way left—through the referendum. And it has yet to be announced (a prerogative of the Congress) and the turnout ensured.

True, all scenarios ignore the legal effects of the latest referendum results. And especially the president's and the government's firm position declared yesterday by Yeltsin at an enlarged session of the Council of Ministers: "...The reforms are under the protection of the people.... The Congress and the Supreme Soviet will have to make up their mind: either to support the government's course or to confront the people."

Referendum Issues

Poltoranin Outlines Yeltsin's Post-Referendum Plans

LD3004173493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1710 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—"The president is tired, but he does not plan to go on vacation, he is waiting for the official report of the Central Electoral Commission on referendum results," head of the Russian Federal Information Center Mikhail Poltoranin told the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY newspaper today.

In his words, Boris Yeltsin is likely to make public his plan on May 5. The plan is expected to include the following provisions:

The main referendum result will be the adoption of a new Russian Constitution, noted Poltoranin. A decree to set up a Federation Council will be signed in the immediate future. Before the adoption of the new constitution, the body will take on itself part of the parliament legislative functions, in case the parliament acts counter to the will of Russian citizens, expressed at the referendum.

As for anti-inflation measures, the president will raise the question of changes in the Russian Central Bank leadership. The government shall work together with the bank, they must have no differences.

Changes in the government membership are also expected. Poltoranin did not name specific ministers, but it is known from other sources "Khizha, Shokhin and Glazyev, who is close to the National Salvation Front, are expected to resign", the newspaper said.

As the government staff has recently blocked a number of government resolutions, the resignation of staff head Kvasov is possible, noted Poltoranin.

The president plans to address the Russian Parliament with a proposal on joint appeal to the Procurator General. Stepankov will be instructed to investigate the availability of foreign bank accounts of government members and people's deputies, including the parliament speaker, as well as the president and the vice-president.

The question of making public secret lists of KGB staffers, introduced in the Deputies' Corps by the former Soviet Communist Party, is being discussed.

It should be stressed there is no plan to introduce the presidential rule in Russia, said Poltoranin.

Democratic Party of Russia Supports Early Elections

LD3004132793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1256 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow April 30—"The Democratic Party of Russia (DPR) believes the recent referendum has not resolved the power crisis in the country, but has reaffirmed the population's desire for changes in the country's power structures," secretary of the DRP board Ilya Roitman told journalists here today.

Expounding on the results of the referendum, the DPR leaders have unanimously expressed the view that the electorate had supported the Russian president and his policy. "However," they stressed, "the extent of this support, taking into account the regional differences, does not warrant any rash steps on Yeltsin's part. On the other hand, there are no legal grounds to re-elect the people's deputies, although the results of the voting show that they do not enjoy the backing of the Russian population. As a result, the Russian authorities are faced with the same option as before the referendum: either to continue the tug-of-war and to escalate the confrontation and political hysteria, or to resign voluntarily and give way to new figures by announcing new elections."

Taking into account the present situation, the Political Council of the DPR Moscow organisation has reaffirmed its view on the way the crisis could be overcome, namely by re-electing the president and the Russian parliament before the expiration of their terms of office.

The DPR Secretariat is solidly behind party leader Nikolay Travkin, who has resigned from the Russian parliament. According to DPR board chairman Valeriy Khomyakov, Travkin's step will prompt the other MPs [members of parliament] to resign before the expiration of their terms of office in order to give the green light to new elections to a professional two-chamber parliament.

"At the same time," says a statement released by the DPR Secretariat here today, "the party believes that it is in the interests of the Russian president to prove again the electorate's confidence in him by honest competition at pre-term presidential elections, for which more than 50 per cent of the voters, who came to the referendum, had cast their ballots"(according to the official vote-counting procedure, pre-term presidential elections would have become necessary, if demanded by more than 50 per cent of the eligible voters—ITAR-TASS).

Shakhray Discusses Results of Referendum

LD0205234993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 May 93

[Studio interview with Sergey Shakhray, deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, by announcer Kiselev; from the "Itogi" newscast—live]

[Text] [Kiselev] We are continuing our studio discussion about the results of the referendum of 25 April with Sergey Shakhray, deputy prime minister of the Russian Government.

[Shakhray] For now, we are talking about the preliminary results of the referendum and, therefore, I cannot quote any numbers. However, even now it is possible to point out certain political results. First of all, the president has been given constituent authority [uchreditelnaya vlast] by the people, and he has reasserted his legitimacy, that is, the right to lawfully lead the Russian Federation and to continue reforms.

[Kiselev] You said that the people have given the president constituent authority. You have talked about it several times already, although you used the expression the president has become the carrier of elements of constituent authority. So, are we talking about elements or about constituent authority in its fullness?

[Shakhray] First of all, the point is that the president represents the state and one of the branches of power, that is, the executive power. Obviously, he has been given constituent authority by the people within this framework. But, because the deputies' corps does not have this legitimacy, because the politically active population...[pauses] because 70 percent of the politically active population have in fact expressed their distrust of the deputies, this means that the present deputies' corps lacks a number of very important rights. It lacks the right to adopt the new constitution, the law of the land.

With such referendum results, the deputies' corps cannot claim to speak on behalf of the entire people.

[Kiselev] But who does have the right, or, using your terminology, who is or can be the carrier of elements of constituent authority?

[Shakhray] Subjects of the Russian Federation, such as republics, krays, and oblasts. Therefore, the president's concept for the continuation of reforms is to discuss with the subjects of the Russian Federation the possibility of adopting a new constitution and to set up a constituent assembly. By the way, the doors are not closed for the deputies' corps either.

[Kiselev] What do you think: is there at least a slim chance that the Supreme Soviet will still use this possibility?

[Shakhray] I believe that such a chance should be granted. Whether the deputies will use it or not—that depends on them.

[Kiselev] Tell me, please, Sergey Mikhailovich, why do you, and many other of the president's supporters, and, let's say, people from the president's entourage, have this confidence that the new constitution is, as it were, a panacea at the present stage from those troubles that confront us?

[Shakhray] Well, no, there is no such feeling, or such a simplified view of life, but there is a three-in-one process: economic reform—financial stabilization, federalism, and local self-government—those are the three pillars that will save Russia. The constitution is only one of the set of important political instruments.

[Kiselev] You know, you have named one very important element of this set of political instruments—economic reform. If there is not some kind of even insignificant changes for the better in our economy, how long do you think the present political structure will remain in power?

[Shakhray] If the present political structure promises the Earth and positive results any moment now, this structure will not remain in power for long.

[Kiselev] But still, if inflation is not overcome, how much time has this structure got?

[Shakhray] If it is not overcome, all the powers will collapse this autumn, and, as I have already said, with the destruction of the financial-monetary system, the Russian state will also collapse.

You must understand that the most important for our state is to escape dyarchy, but to escape dyarchy through peaceful means. Let communists win the elections, but elections, rather than a battle on barricades.

[Kiselev] Not like on 1 May.

[Shakhray] Exactly. Then, those who are in power now, will have a peaceful opportunity to fight for power during the next elections. What is the aim? To escape dyarchy, to preserve reforms, and to preserve peace in our society, in our state, which is so paralyzed.

[Kiselev] Do you believe that the extremist opposition forces, those who came out for a very unpeaceful rally in Moscow on 1 May, are really ready for any dialogue?

[Shakhray] As usual, analogies come to mind. Russia has already seen it all after the February revolution in summer 1917, when the provisional government was sitting, talking, but no one was doing anything. We must hold on by negotiating with all political forces, but exercising power at the same time. By using our power against those who are trying to destabilize the situation. Having lost the referendum, let's light the fuse from different directions and again try to haul the fish from these murky waters [as heard]. I think that not only economic reform, not only Yeltsin, or the government got the vote of confidence. Those who are perceived by the people as having a chance of bringing some order also got a vote of confidence. Constitutional laws, but also order, rather than just wagging of tongues and promises.

Khasbulatov Analyzes Referendum Results

PM3004145193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition pp 3, 4

[Article by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov: "The Referendum: False Interpretations and Reality"]

[Text] It is clear that the anti-Congress forces which sought to bring about a regime of personal power have not managed to achieve their strategic goal. At the same time their tasks have been partially achieved: They have managed to "extort" the consent of a significant proportion of the population to the implementation of their socioeconomic policy and approval of the activity of the president.

I will try to present a preliminary analysis of the results of the referendum from the point of view of strict political calculation, without passions or emotions, as the saying goes.

So, what do we have as a result of the 25 April referendum?

Preliminary Analysis

Let me begin by analyzing the results which we received on the first two questions of the referendum. Here we have received from the population a consultative majority [konsultativnoye bolshinstvo] on both questions submitted to the referendum. Is this what those who sought to hold the referendum were after? Not at all. They sought to receive a mandate of confidence to implement constitutional transformations in the country. For this it was necessary to have polled over 53 million of the votes of the electorate. But they polled only just over one-half of those who voted. At the same time around 30 million of our fellow citizens voted directly against confidence in the president. And this comes in conditions of information terror, up to and including the use of means of psychological warfare banned under the Geneva Convention; up to and including direct and blatant participation in the organization of the referendum not only of foreign citizens, but also of their funds, which, as you know, is forbidden by law. But even this proved insufficient.

Western television programs state this bluntly. Those who have the opportunity to follow the foreign press and television know this. The groups which conducted Lady Thatcher's election campaign (who, incidentally, were unable to "help" Bush and who incensed Clinton) promised to clinch the referendum "without a hitch," and to ensure a constitutional majority for the initiators of the 25 April referendum. Other specialists in the direct falsification of elections were brought in, as I have already mentioned in my previous remarks before the referendum. I think that the results of their activity should be analyzed separately.

What did all these desperate, mighty plans and actions produce? There is no constitutional majority, but there is

a small consultative majority, or a "reference-purpose majority" [oznakomitelnoye bolshinstvo]. Let us "study" the results seriously. What do we find? Well, just what we warned against.

First. The referendum dealt a crushing—I do not fear to use this word—blow to Russian statehood, and if the president, unlike his entourage, indeed if all of us together, retain a feeling of concern for the fate of the Russian state, we can hardly rejoice at the results produced, whereby in effect almost one-half of the republics belonging to the Russian Federation refused to express confidence in the president.

Like the union referendum, this venture was an attack on statehood, as we warned repeatedly over the last six months.

Second. We observe an obvious and irreconcilable split in society, both along territorial lines (43 regions are against) and along social lines, with the fault line running between that section of the population which was one way or another implicated in the selling off national resources and in the comprador socioeconomic course, and the section of the population that was forced **to pay for** this sale with a drastic reduction in their own standard of living.

There should be no demagoguery about this split dividing society into "lumpen" and "businessmen." Nor should the reverse be claimed—that a "unification" of society is under way. This did not happen. The preliminary results of the referendum suggest something else. They have confirmed the most alarming of all possible scenarios—that the split runs through all strata of society.

Third. The dirty information war, according the specifications of Western consultants which was directed by Burbulis and Poltoranin, provoked natural opposition from citizens. This opposition will grow.

Fourth. It is impossible to avoid the literally tragic situation that is obvious to the whole of society as regards the corruptness of the bureaucracy. The information of Vice President A.V. Rutskoy should be taken into account, because confidence in the president does not mean the right for anyone, whoever he is, to commit criminal offenses with impunity. And if the opinion of 70 million Russians is not good enough for the president, he should take account of the opinion of the West—the very people who are such an irrefutable authority for our highest officials who exercise executive power in the country. The latter should bear in mind that not one politician in the West, where they depend far more on public opinion than, alas, our own politicians, would allow himself to sit around the negotiating table with obviously corrupt people.

This is the sum total of what we have "learned" from the first two questions. As you see, this is far from a "victory." If 40 million out of 106 million is a victory, what then is a defeat?

Of course, it is possible to wait for the regions to split once and for all, for millions to become unemployed, for the breakdown of the transport and information networks which unite Russia, for a further influx of refugees, for the mass bankruptcy of enterprises, for a crime wave on the scale of mass terror. And then, having followed through the current policy, having ensured the logical completion of the ruinous course which dictates its policy to the majority on behalf of an obvious minority, it is possible that another result will be produced, recording a reduction in the social basis of support to 2-3 percent. But then there will no longer be parliaments or referendums; there will be only that which is constantly used to frighten us as the alternative to the present course, but which is certainly not the alternative, only its logical conclusion.

We cannot and must not allow this to happen. In the heat of the political game we should not, and do not have the right, to toy with the interests of the people and the state. Hence, registering the beginning of a breakthrough in public opinion in the country in favor of radicalism on both the right and left, of a clear understanding of the need to reform, and of the inevitability of changing the direction, speed, and quality of the reforms being carried out, I appeal to the different forces of our common political movement, which equally understand the perniciousness of the current course, to consolidate and step up work to explain the real state of affairs to society. On their part the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies should apply all their efforts to alter the situation in the mass media, which today are far from offering objective coverage of events. The monopoly over the mass media should be ended, and will be ended.

It would be doubly impermissible for responsible political forces in the current situation to succumb to political pressure by their opponents, who are distorting the results of the elections, or to allow nervousness or mutual conflicts and reproaches to creep into their ranks, thereby sundering the broad alliance that has begun to take shape as a result of the latest phase of joint actions by rational, truly democratic, and progressive forces which reject both the current, unquestionably destructive, course, and the ideas of revenge.

Since a shameful anti-Serbian action was initiated by the Ministry of Defense—an action against which, incidentally, we were warned by some press publications—as early as the next day after the referendum, it is not difficult to perceive where even a brief interval of doubt and instability in the ranks of deputies and other sociopolitical forces could lead tomorrow. For everyone understands that another international project, on a wider scale, ultimately leading to a third world war, is being worked out in Serbia as on a testing ground.

The Constitutional Questions and the Answers Received to Them

I have already spoken of my attitude to the ruling of the Constitutional Court, which in effect devalued the

results of the referendum. On the first two questions, incidentally, it is quite likely that this decision by the Constitutional Court influenced the behavioral motives of the voter: "What difference does it make how I vote; after all, this has no significance anyway." But unlike our opponents I do not have the right to discredit the supreme organs of state power. The court's ruling is law, and we must all obey it.

Essentially, it was the last two questions that the court instructed us to regard as having constitutional significance. As for the "reference questions," I have already tackled this issue earlier in this article, as well as in conversation with ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent on the eve of the referendum. But the constitutional results are simply astonishing.

Judging by these results the people support neither the idea of fresh elections for the Congress, nor the idea of fresh presidential elections. And here a qualitatively new constitutional situation arises—to be honest, one which we actually did not expect. We were all preparing for fresh elections, we were canvassing the voters, asking them for fresh elections for both the Congress and the president. And we were refused this. And if we are really true to the idea of people's power and rule by the people, if we really work on the premise that the referendum is the supreme will of the people, if we are talking of the constitutional questions, that is to say, questions three and four, we have to acknowledge that, within the framework of the existing Constitution, we are obliged to serve the whole of the rest of the term, together with the president, and strictly in accordance with the Constitution. Such is the will of the people, expressed to us at the referendum on the constitutional questions. And we are not entitled to submit it to doubt.

Everyone who begins to act otherwise now, after such a result at the referendum, is in effect taking the road of violating the law and the Constitution—we all must grasp this fact. And I would once again warn all structures and all political forces in the country—left-wing and right-wing, executive and legislative—against arbitrary actions. The will of the people is the supreme law.

It is clear that the initiators of the referendum were, of course, after something else. They were seeking, they were confident that, after discrediting the deputies and the soviets at all levels, after the agitation for a "yes" answer to the fourth question by PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA simultaneously, the Congress would collapse. This was the main task of the political opponents of the legislative power, this was what they staked everything on. And this political venture has suffered total defeat.

And what would have happened if the electors had voted differently? There was the strategic "Burbulis plan" (as the reader knows), according to which, after the fall of the Congress, it would have been necessary to create a "Constitutional" or "Constituent Assembly," to ram through—pardon the expression—this "assembly" an antidemocratic Constitution with a puppet parliament and the dictatorship of one person, who would receive the right to disperse representative organs of power not to his liking and establish states of emergency for unlimited periods, and after this, in conditions of total monopoly over the mass media, to rush through a pseudoelection campaign. Subsequently the country would have been doomed to a dictatorship on the Latin American model, which, I am sure, would have lasted for historically long periods. This is what we managed to avoid as a result of the rallying of progressive forces and the creation of a broad support among the people for the defense of democracy and the Constitution. This is the truly invaluable result of the referendum.

We should act proceeding on the basis of this result.

History will not forgive us if we do not take advantage of the people's exceptional forbearance. History will not forgive a repeat of the political mistakes which turned into a national tragedy in Germany in 1933. I call for courage, steadfastness, unity, calm, and resolution to defend to the end the constitutional organs of power and now, after the referendum, the direct expression of the people's will as well.

The people bade the Congress to exist and to stand in defense of the law against the voluntarism and tyranny of the forces which sought at any price to upset the balance between the legislature and the executive.

Concerning Actions After the Referendum

I do not want to become the kind of person who indulges in wishful thinking. The results that have been obtained do bespeak solid support for the president and his economic course. It is a fact, and it cannot be ignored.

If the president seeks to continue his reformist line within the framework of the law and the Constitution and without going over the top, we must support him in this within reasonable limits, while indicating even more clearly our perception of the reforms and all other spheres of state policy—internal and external.

The Supreme Soviet and the Congress must continue to act as a force curbing destructive, antistate trends leading to irrevocable consquences.

They include:

—rampant corruption;

—the obvious squandering of the country's strategic resources;

—the blow to its high technology, educational, cultural, and scientific potential; to the Russian gene pool itself;

—the threat of food, energy, and transport crises, which, together, could become a national disaster by winter 1993;

—the possible growth of hyperinflation with its destructive consequences. The continuation of the present

course in that area could result in the printing of 100,000-ruble bills by winter 1993;

—the threat to the country's defense potential and international prestige;

—the threat to freedom of the press and the threat of one-sided diktat in the media and above all in Central Television.

Essentially, these are the seven areas of constitutional constraints in which we can and must give the president the chance over the next six months to implement his economic course. Otherwise the deputies will quite justifiably be accused of "not respecting" the will of the people.

In the end, none of us has a monopoly on the truth and if the course turns out to be, I would not say beneficial because that is simply out of the question, but at least not catastrophic for the country, then, taking into account the results of the referendum and having stated a different perception of the reforms, by introducing constitutional constraints, we must work out a joint course of economic reforms based on laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

It would be appropriate in this case to monitor how far the president carries out his unlimited pre-election promises, which he so generously gave to voters and which provided him with what is, I repeat, an extremely ambiguous majority, which certain people are rashly using in their premature and shabby theses about his allegedly having received a mandate of confidence. Well, if they do not mind a mandate of confidence with the constraints I indicated, within the framework of the Constitution and with the clear identification of a reform alternative, let them accept that mandate.

Time is passing very quickly and, alas, as we can see, it is just as quickly turning yesterday's idols into dust. One should remember this.

The second scenario of the opponents of representative authority is that of trying even now, in conditions where the referendum has expressed confidence in the Congress, to bypass the representative authority and all but disperse it. These actions should be described as doubly criminal after today's constitutional results of the referendum. This will be a proper rebuff for them.

The third scenario of the opponents of representative authority is to admit the ambiguity of the results and agree to a long-term coalition government, clearly specifying representation in the executive authority for those forces that stand for the majority of the Congress' healthy forces and those forces that conform to the president's line in its most constructive and moderate form.

Such a coalition government would make it possible to eliminate to some extent the split in society and weaken the dual power situation.

The fourth scenario for executive authority is, having recognized the new situation, to allow the Congress to form a government of national confidence, with Congress bearing full responsibility for the actions of this government and the results of these actions. This logic would be the most sensible, and if there are forces in the president's entourage who can see at least one step ahead, then they would support this scenario.

These are the four scenarios than can be treated seriously. All the others are amateur concoctions, including the various "constituent assemblies," "constitutional assemblies," and other "assemblies."

Concerning the Constitution

There is another question which is immeasurably more important than the rest. That is the question of constitutional changes. Following the referendum, it is clear that constitutional changes can only take place via the Congress. That is its absolute prerogative. Of course, the president could put forward the question of constitutional changes and a new Constitution in the next referendum. But I hope that in this case the Constitutional Court would deem the question of a new Constitution to be adopted at the president's behest "constitutional," and not "for reference." We have already seen exactly how things stand with our "constitutional majority." This means that all the dreams of constitutional initiatives bypassing the Congress have been shattered.

In this situation a good chess player would resign. And he would remember the bad position, in order not to repeat the mistakes. But I am not sure that the people in the president's entourage are good at chess...

The presidential Constitution "stunt" will not work. The question of a new Constitution is the Congress' prerogative. The Congress will accept it in consultation with the components of the Federation, and, on its basis, will hold elections at the proper time, in accordance with the will of the people.

It can now be said that some Western analysts have realized what kind of trap the initiators of the referendum fell into. In time most will realize this. As for us, while lamenting the further increase in state instability and the weakening of the state, at the same time we note with optimism the growth of the population's awareness of the law. The winner was neither Yeltsin nor Khasbulatov, neither the government nor parliament. The winner was the common sense of a population that does not want civil war. In this sense **we have a constitutional rather than revolutionary situation. That is the chief positive result of the referendum. So let us work calmly on this basis, acting in accordance with the people's will, with the law, and with common sense, which has triumphed today and, I am sure, will triumph to an even great extent tomorrow.**

Opposition Leaders' Constituents Voted for Yeltsin

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[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "Electorate of Baburin and Others Voted for President"]

[Text] The majority of people's deputies in parliament and the congress who systematically level sharp criticism against the president and his policy state that they speak on behalf of the people and are defending the interests of their electorate. Such declarations have always given rise to doubts as to their compliance with reality, but the results of the referendum make it possible to determine more precisely how far the view of the people's elected representatives coincide with the views of those who once elected them.

According to the figures of the Central Electoral Commission, in Omsk's territorial electoral district No. 539, from which deputy S. Baburin was elected, 67.56 percent of voters who came to the polling stations voted in support of the president. At the same time about 74 percent of citizens who took part in the vote expressed themselves in favor of early re-elections of the deputies' corps.

In the district which elected deputy V. Ispravnikov, now deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, 64 percent of those who took part in the referendum supported the president and over 73 percent of voters expressed lack of confidence in the congress.

The voters of one of the leaders of the parliamentary Communists, I. Rybkin, who came to the referendum also supported B. Yeltsin by a majority of votes (65.8 percent) and did not support (74.39 percent) the supreme legislative organ. A similar picture—overwhelming confidence in the president and the same lack of confidence in the congress—can be seen in the districts which elected well known opposition members like S. Goryachev, I. Bratishchev, Ye. tarasov, and Yu. Sidorenko.

Officials Interviewed on Results of Referendum

LD0105203893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1315 GMT 1 May 93

["Red Square" feature presented by Aleksander Lyubimov with "political expert" Andranik Migranyan; Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration; and Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet; in the studio; from the "Vid" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Lyubimov] Good afternoon. You are watching Red Square. We wish you all a Happy Holiday and, of course, express our solidarity with those who are working. We are going to speak of the referendum results. Our guests in Moscow are Sergey Filatov, leader of the presidential administration, and Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. [passage omitted] Sergey Aleksandrovich, you just said here [presumably in off-screen conversation] that in principle the answers yes and yes to the last two questions, that is, the third and fourth questions, would be very undesirable for the development of the political situation. Does a no and no answer satisfy you?

[Filatov] That is not quite right, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich. I said that we expected the no to the third question, and I said that as for the fourth question on the list, that probably would not happen. On the whole, however, I think that it would be normal to obtain a yes answer, of course. Then, together with the first and second questions, there is a certain logic, a logic consisting of the fact that at the seventh congress the president presented the question of confidence, linking that with the constitution, first of all. Having obtained trust now, and having embarked upon the path of adopting a new constitution—at least the first step has been taken already as the constitution has been made public—it has been given to subjects of the Federation. Naturally, logically, the next step should be to elect a new parliament under the constitution, because the figure of the president in the Russian Federation, in the new current Russian system, not inside the Union, is legitimate, as it were.

[Lyubimov] Nikolay Timofeyevich, you were a consistent opponent of the referendum as a method of bringing the will of the people to light in this specific situation. As a deputy, you scored points on the answer to the fourth question being no. Have you changed your point of view?

[Ryabov] No, I have not changed my point of view regarding all-Russia referendums. I think that it is an unneccesary campaign. I am not against spontaneous democracy in Russia—it should be understood correctly—but in my view all-Russia referendums do not resolve matters today. I would like to say to Sergey Aleksandrovich that the people have turned out to be wiser than us in saying two no's to the last questions—the third and fourth questions. In my view, what does that mean? That means that the people spoke out for stability—not for the stability of stagnation but for the stability of dynamics, for constitutional reform and for economic reform, but in cooperation with executive and representative power and not for confrontation.

[Lyubimov] [words indistinct] Can you be united in thinking that the results of the referendum, or the fact that it has happened already, is bringing us closer to some kind of political balance between the two branches of power?

[Ryabov] It is giving us the chance, just giving us the chance for this.

[Filatov] I also think that it is giving us the chance, but after this referendum some i's should be dotted concerning political figures which overstepped certain barriers, including moral barriers, before the referendum.

[Lyubimov] Then you immediately make victims, martyrs out of them and they become national heroes.

[Filatov] No, I do not intend to do that. I just think that these people should dot the i's on their past themselves, because, you see, that makes it possible to go on the offensive once again in certain conditions. There is one thing today, however, as it were. There are such things. I realize that there is a struggle, a certain struggle. There is a difference of views, and other factors, but there is also a certain moral barrier which should never be overstepped, generally speaking.

[Lyubimov] Nikolay Timofeyevich, the president has begun, in my view, for maybe the first time since August [1991] such a positive, constructive process, using the results of the referendum and proposing to immediately discuss the constitution and get to work on this issue quickly, and do something. We all understand that the old constitution is not perfect. [passage omitted]

[Ryabov] I will tell you that the results of the referendum—I want to repeat this once again—on the third and fourth questions, in my view, require the acceleration of constitutional reform. In this situation, the actions of the president are completely explicable, but they will take on a logical conclusion if they call on the parliament and the Congress, and not just the subjects of the federation, to cooperate in this process. Then we will get a constitution which unites Russia and not yet one more instrument, so to speak, for dissension and disagreement, and other things. In this sense I welcome this. Now, concerning the preservation or the freezing of the present constitution, I have said on more than one occasion, and repeat it now, that the present Constitution is a completely capable instrument for implementing the economic reforms at the present stage. This does not exclude developing and adopting a new one. We have worked on this, but the process has halted. [passage omitted]

[Migranyan] I would like to know your opinion. Does it not seem to you that today, proceeding from moral and political results, that the president can, on the whole, expect a more constructive attitude and more trust in what the president wants to do from the Congress and the deputies?

[Ryabov] Well, as for a constructive attitude, I welcome that and I believe that the parliament will willingly embrace that.

[Migranyan] Excuse me, but two committees have been dissolved already.

[Ryabov] As far as...

[Migranyan, interrupting] Krasavchenko and yesterday practically the former [word indistinct]. I do not see [words indistinct]

[Filatov] And the privatization program was assessed as unsatisfactory.

[Migranyan] The logic of the action seems strange to me after such results.

[Ryabov] But incidentally, you are forgetting that a resolution was adopted yesterday on completing the elaboration and on the adoption of the new Constitution of Russia. That should not be forgotten. You are stressing the internal reorganization of the Supreme Soviet aimed, let us say, at enhancing efficiency. Whether that reorganization is proceeding well or badly may be assessed in various ways...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] Could you be more precise?

[Ryabov] However, the Supreme Soviet, just like the president yesterday, showed readiness to adopt the Constitution already in 1993.

[Lyubimov] I have a little question for you. Is the parliament preparing its constitution, while the president and his structure are preparing their own? Or is there some common ground? Accordingly, Sergey Aleksandrovich, why did the president not dispatch the draft to parliament?

[Ryabov] I will tell you. Let me just finish this thought. I will tell you that it is not a parliamentary draft. As is known, that draft was drawn up by the constitutional commission by parliament. This draft, which as you say they call parliamentary, has been drawn up for over two years now. It has been elaborated thoroughly with subjects of the Federation...

[Migranyan, interrupting] At the sixth congress.

[Filatov] The one which was mothballed for a year.

[Ryabov] It was adopted at the sixth congress. The Congress made the decision to take into account the presidential amendments. They were indeed taken into account. In the new text, they have even been italicized. When we make copies of this draft, everybody will be able to familiarize themselves with it. That is to say that it is—to use the term legitimacy—is legitimate. It is the fruit of the work of a thousand people. [passage omitted] As is known, it was published on several occasions.

[Filatov] Well, you see, it cannot be said that this draft was rewritten from scratch. A year was spent working over the base draft, the one at the sixth congress. During this year, so many compromises have appeared in that draft constitution which was put forward at the Supreme Soviet and at the congress at the start, that it can be said that today, time allows us to raise the question of a constitution without compromises.

[Ryabov] Today, roughly 60 percent of the texts of both constitutions...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] You mean coincide?

[Ryabov, continuing] ...are identical, practically identical. It does not mean that the remaining 40 percent are contradictory. They coincide in many ways, but are

written in a different language. There are several key problems. These problems lie first of all in the formation of the upper chamber, the federal assembly—it has various names in these constitutions...

[Migranyan, interrupting] The Soviet of the Republic is the upper chamber and the State Duma is the lower; that is the presidential...

[Ryabov, interrupting] The Soviet of the Federation—there are various names. [Filatov tries to interrupt, but Ryabov speaks over his words] That is one serious aspect. Another is the relationship between presidential power and parliamentary power. Under the constitution adopted by the congress the president is the head of executive power and the supreme official. Under the constitution proposed, in particular, on behalf of the president, the president is the head of state, the supreme official but executive power does not belong to him. In principle, I support such an approach, but there is so much...

[Lyubimov, interrupting] That one is more democratic, in terms of relations with the parliament. Is this right, Nikolay Timofeyevich?

[Ryabov] What I am telling you now is my initial reaction: In my view, the rights of the president have been copied on the French Constitution of De Gaulle's time, with an even more rigid approach. Let me clarify this: It is enshrined in the draft Constitution that the Federal Assembly is the highest representative body—that is all. Not a legislative body, just a representative one. It follows also from the text of the Constitution that the president has the right to adopt legislative acts, for example. Do you follow this? Many other aspects can be demonstrated. This does not mean, however, that these obstacles are unsurmountable—we can find common language in anything now. What is important, however, is that the constitutional process has now started at high speed. It should not be contradictory in its nature: Sides must move toward each other to produce one document at the end in which all parties will have reached consensus. [passage omitted]

[Lyubimov] In December when the referendum was talked about for the first time as a possible stage in our political process, the majority of analysists and deputies doubted that it should be held due to the possibility that it could lead to the disintegration of the country, that certain regions will refuse to hold the referendum. [passage omitted]

The question arises, does the political struggle in Moscow not provoke such unpleasant things? Sergey Aleksandrovich.

[Filatov] You know, I have to say that in their dynamics these processes are improving, not worsening. Previously there were more of them. I think that this was connected to the fact that the country was not moving towards economic reforms but was in some way marking time. When we moved towards economic reforms, however... [pauses] well, look, this unification begins, more than division, say. Maybe because of inertia to some degree the issues of economic independence and other issues are active. I think that the issues, the mechanisms for realizing the federation treaty... [pauses] and it will be even better if we make the division between the federal level and the level of our republics and federation subjects, and on the whole finish all these processes. I think that we are going toward this more quickly than the other way around.

[Ryabov] [passage omitted] The figure of 40 percent of the subjects of the federation who did not support the referendum's second question [on support for Yeltsin's policy] says that there is a problem, that it is a serious problem, and that it is necessary to work on it together.

[Lyubimov] Do you agree with him, Sergey Aleksandrovich?

[Filatov] I agree. [passage omitted]

[Ryabov] I would like to say that it is necessary to elucidate precisely the results of the referendum, not in percentages, hundredths, tenths, etc, but to discover the result of the referendum in a positve way. Only in this sense can we find common approaches, consolidate society, and come to the adoption of a new constitution together.

[Filatov] Nikolay Timofeyevich, I agree with this, but at the same time, when representative power says that economic reforms cannot be carried out without it, then it should take steps which would help that economic reform and not oppose it.

[Ryabov] Well, we could get into such an argument here ...

[Filatov, interrupting] We are already entering that argument, because the people have already had the last word. If, after this, the Supreme Soviet makes decisions which are negative in relation to the privatization program, then this says that the confrontation is continuing and that again the point of view which is not supported by the people is still being forced on us. So I agree that we need to work together; it would be best for the representative and executive authorities to carry out the same reforms.

[Ryabov] But Sergey Aleksandrovich, the methods, the forms of reforms demand dialogue and argument; they cannot presuppose disagreement. A single branch of authority cannot completely agree with what a second branch is doing. Therefore, there is nothing suprising in this; it is a normal process. [passage omitted]

[Ryabov] I agree with you. Cooperation, not self-destruction, must be a supreme law for the authorities. That is why I find it unacceptable to attempt impeachment. Everybody had been well aware beforehand that it was impossible, however, they decided to go ahead with it. This was a manifestation of yesterday's power, but it also discredited the authority as a whole. That is why

today, remembering this experience, one must not push the president to similar actions, one must not say: The ball is your court, Mr. President; it is your turn to attempt political assassination of the representative power. This is the first thing. [passage omitted]

Certain political activists state: We must use this incidence to disband [the parliament], because there is a certain right of the moral majority. as you have said, over 40 percent have said this. [passage omitted] The deputies might consider early elections. However, the best way to proceed is to adopt a new constitution, to embrace a provisional state which would enable us to enter softly into the new system of authority.

[Migranyan] There are two ways of adopting it: either through the Congress or through the Constituent Assembly.

[Ryabov] Now we are working at this issue; the results of the referendum have set us thinking. There is a Constitutional norm—the Congress adopts such decisions. However, a procedure may be developed whereby not only the Congress but representatives of the subjects of the federation, or the President—that is representatives of all political forces of the society, without exception—would be able to adopt a new constitution. [passage omitted]

[Filatov] The main question is: How shall we adopt the Constitution and why should it be better adopted by other bodies of authority? Because now there is still a danger of the Congress trying to change the Constitution again to get it to suit its desires, or plans, or views. We were very close to these changes, should we have failed to achieve positive results on the second question of the referendum. We all know what the speaker was advocating before the referendum: that the government should be under the Supreme Soviet, that the president should be head of state, and other things. This was already being prepared as Constitutional amendments. Our state needs a Constitution which would not lend itself to amendments too easily. The procedure for introducing amendments must be extremely complicated. [passage omitted]

[Ryabov] There is one very rigid procedure. One cannot change any article without consulting the people. However, back to the procedure of the adoption: The last point of the Supreme Soviet resolution yesterday [30 April] provides for working out and adopting a law, which would change the current constitution, in which the procedure of the adoption will be laid out. It stresses in no uncertain terms that subjects of the Federation and the president must be involved in this procedure of the adoption. [passage omitted]

We are beginning to work on both drafts. We should take the best from both, remove drawbacks, agree on issues, because it is not only him [pointing at Filatov] or me who decides whether a certain question should remain in the Constitution, but it also depends on the subjects of the Federation, on the president, on the will of the Parliament as a whole. However, this flywheel has been set in motion from both the presidential side, and the parliamentary side. The parliament officially proposed to the president to participate in this process. It has not rejected the president's draft, but the president has not chosen to suggest publicly that the parliament should consider his draft [as received]. That is the only fly in the ointment. [passage omitted]

I believe our first task is to adopt the Constitution. Our second task is to adopt a special section of the Constitution which would be entitled Interim State, which would ensure from the very first the operation of the new system of representative power, or parliament, even based on the present corps of deputies. Then we should deploy the electoral campaign, in line with this interim provision. We must adopt a law on elections, laws on parties—all that is required, so to speak, to ensure democratic elections. It is only then that we should start the electoral campaign. In my view, this would be the best option.

[Lyubimov] When do you intend to...[pauses] all these measures.

[Ryabov] I think that the change should take place next year.

[Lyubimov] In spring or in autumn?

[Ryabov] Well...[laughter from participants]

[Lyubimov] Thank you very much for taking part in our program. Can I just say here that people tend to be in a better mood in spring. This has definitely affected our program. You are watching Red Square. See you after the break, stay with us. Well, back to peace, labor, May, and the referendum. [passage omitted]

[Migranyan] There are serious objections to the constitution proposed by the president, namely that the head of the state and possibly, the executive power has too many rights and powers. In addition, there is a view that it was inspired by the French constitution. I have always said that there should be strong power to implement such colossal reforms. I am not saying this just because I am now a member of the presidential council. I said it in 1987, 1988, and in 1989. [passage omitted]

The last question which I would like to dwell on is how to introduce this constitution. There are two opinions on this: to introduce the constitution either through congress or through a constituent assembly, by passing the congress. Both points of view are well grounded. [passage omitted] I think it would be desirable to put an end to this confrontation, and I would prefer that we obtain the constitution we want through the congress and through the deputies and fix a date for pre-term elections.

[Lyubimov] Thank you, Andranik. It seems to me that we have reached our tiredness threshold. My intuition tells me I am right. You have been watching Red Square. Next week, of course, we will be talking about a great victory, the victory of 1945. Join us next week.

Supreme Soviet

Soviet of Nationalities Discusses Abkhazia

LD3004190793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1208 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS Parliamentary Correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Apr (ITAR-TASS)—The Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet today discussed the implementation of the Russian parliament's resolution "On the situation in the North Caucasus in connection with the events in Abkhazia."

The chamber's resolution notes that the measures being taken by the Russian federal bodies of power to stop the military conflict in Abkhazia, which is destabilizing the sociopolitical situation in the North Caucasus, and to solve the problems which have cropped up on a just basis, have not brought the expected results. In particular, the standing commission of Russia's people's deputies for studying the situation in the conlict zone and performing mediatory functions has still not gotten off the ground. "The leadership of the Republic of Georgia," the resolution says, "taking advantage of the inconsistency of the actions of Russia's federal organs of power, is trying to solve the conflict in Abkhazia using strong-arm methods and by making unfounded accusations that Russian troops are not observing neutrality."

The Soviet of Nationalities requests that the president and the Government of the Russian Federation should resume talks, aimed at normalizing the situation in this region, with the leadership of the Republic of Georgia about the recent appeal by Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet to Russia's parliament. The chamber has confirmed that Russia will continue to give humanitarian aid to the population in the conflict zone.

The Soviet of Nationalities has called on Georgia's parliament and Abkhazia "to show realism when assessing the situation which has arisen and to take the path of peaceful and just settlement of the situation on the basis of observing human rights and the rights of all nationalities." People's deputies have asked the parliament of the Republic of Georgia to take charge of the investigation of crimes with respect to Russian servicemen, their families, and facilities belonging to Russia.

Media Committee Statement Condemns Abolition

LD3004193593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As you know, the Supreme Soviet's mass media committee was dissolved a few days ago. Our editorial office received a statement today from members of that committee. It says that, I quote: The flagrant infringement of standing orders committed when this resolution was adopted gives grounds to assert that it has more to do with replacing awkward deputies than with improving the activity of the Supreme Soviet. One day before that, and without even any discussion, the Committee for Economic Reform was likewise abolished. The leadership of the Supreme Soviet are trying to pin the blame for their defeat in the referendum on their opponents in parliament—I am quoting the statement—and this can lead only to an intensification of the confrontation between parliament and society. The dissolution of the mass media committee may become a signal for an all-out onslaught by soviets at all levels on freedom of speech, the statement says.

Parliament To Work 5-7 May, Rest 8-10 May

LD3004192493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1904 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—The Russian Parliament will work on May 5,6 and 7 and rest on May 8,9 and 10. The Supreme Soviet Presidium will hold a regular meeting on May 11, which will be also a working day for parliament commissions and committees.

First Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairman Yuriy Voronin asked members of parliament committees and commissions to resume law-making already on May 4, if "there is an urgent need for considering any drafts".

Deputy Views 'Self-Destruction' of Supreme Soviet

LD3004192893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1905 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—The Supreme Soviet is "in a process of self-destruction", believes Russian People's Deputy Aleksandr Kopeika.

In his opinion, it is proved by the abolition of the Committee on Economic Reform at a time the people supported the reform course, the reorganization of the Committee on Mass Media and planning of similar operations on Committees on Defence and Security, Human Rights and others.

In this condition, the Supreme Soviet may "take any similar act, which is very dangerous", he told a news conference at the Russian White House here today.

Asked by ITAR-TASS on reasons for reorganization of the Committee on Mass Media at Thursday's meeting of the Supreme Soviet, Kopeika said "the committee was dissolved because they failed to control it".

He said a commission to inspect the Ostankino situation, set up by the congress, has prepared a number of documents, which are "almost plagiarism of laws prepared by the dissolved committee". For instance, many provisions of the draft law on changes and additions to the law on mass media were taken by the commission from the committee draft on TV and radio broadcast.

Many functions the committee gave to the Federal Commission on Licensing are now given to the Federal Observer Council, noted the deputy. In his opinion, functions of the Observer Council in this draft do not correspond "to the essence of the issue". Despite the "camouflage, a controlling body with censorship rights is being set up," he added. Thus, being a member of the commission to inspect the Ostankino situation, he will be against the parliament adoption of this provision.

Abdulatipov Discusses Caucasus Resolution

LD3004224593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2035 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Interview with Chairman of the Russian Soviet of Nationalities Ramazan Abdulatipov by unidentified correspondent from the Supreme Soviet building; date not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] [Video shows Soviet of Nationalities debate, Sergey Baburin and others addressing session, voting figures 73 for, zero against, one abstention] The Soviet of Nationalities debated a resolution on the situation in the North Caucasus, in connection with the events in Abkhazia. After lengthy debate, the resolution was adopted.

[Abdulatipov] [Video shows Abdulatipov standing with unidentified correspondent] Given the events in Abkhazia, this issue was being discussed in the chamber in connection with monitoring the implemention of the last Russian Federation Supreme Soviet resolution on the situation in the North Caucasus. Furthermore, the issue was being examined in the Soviet of Nationalities because of the need to take account of, and to defend, the national interests of the Russian Federation state. The heightening of the armed conflict in Abkhazia is exacerbating the situation in society in the North Caucasus, because both in Abkhazia and in North Caucasus, particularly in Kabardo-Balkariya and Karachayevo-Cherkessiya, ethnically related peoples live. Today, I think, we have managed to adopt a most well-considered decision, a decision which has in fact been through expert analysis at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Committee for International Affairs. At the same time, we gave the representatives of both the Georgian parliament and the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia an opportunity to voice their opinion in the chamber. All the peoples of the Russian Federation have an interest in a normal situation being established, in the situation being stabilized, because indeed, they will thereby also be helping Russia. I think that by adopting such decisions, such committed decisions, we want simultaneously to help both the Abkhaz and the Georgians, all the peoples of Georgia, to maintain stability in that region.

Abdulatipov Views Post-Referendum Situation

LD3004091693

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1715 GMT on 29 April carries a program entitled "Thoughts on the Themes of Tomorrow," an unscheduled 30-minute studio discussion between Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, and Veneamin Sokolov, his counterpart in the Soviet of the Republic, with political observer Georgiy Dolgov, on the issue of post-referendum attitudes.

Dolgov begins by saying that there are no winners or losers in the referendum: such thinking would be extremely counterproductive, especially since the results themselves are fairly controversial; both the president and the Supreme Soviet must realistically adjust their work to the conditions existing in the country today.

On the question of confidence in the president, Abdulatipov says: "No one is upset by the fact that the people have expressed their confidence in the president. Anyway, those deputies who are tuned into a creative mode of work are not disappointed at all. There is even a feeling of relief, because an opportunity has arisen today to overcome existing contradictions. It is on this that we should base our judgement." He adds: "Second, I don't want anyone to rejoice at the deputies' defeat, for there is no defeat either." He goes on to say: "At the same time, speaking about a democratic society, we should bear in mind that 40 million people supported the president; 30-something million supported the deputies—that's out of a 107 million-strong electorate. That is why, whoever gains support today, the diktat by this minority over society at large must be absolutely avoided." He remarks: "In this respect, both the Supreme Soviet and the president and government have to adjust their behavior."

Abdulatipov discusses mistakes that have been made in Russia's policy: "The whole mistake of our entire policy in Russia is that at every stage of our work we try to make it fit individual personalities: we make laws to suit them, we make the Constitution to suit them." Asked why Dagestan, Abdulatipov's native country, voted so fiercely against the president, he declares: "Here we are also dealing with a personal factor. You know, in the Caucasus, if a man has failed to keep his word, whatever positive results he achieves later, there is very little confidence in him. Unfortunately, there were such instances in Boris Nikolayevich's work practices. People do not analyze politics or the president's socio-economic concepts deeply; they base their choices on emotions. Also, in spite of all the contradictions, Dagestan nevertheless supported its deputies—only 24 percent voted for early elections, and in my rayon only 2 percent."

Abdulatipov is asked what steps the Supreme Soviet expects from the president. He says: "As a result of the referendum, the president has been given a unique chance, and as someone who was involved in making the forecasts, I can say that it is also his last chance to take a place worthy of a president in the political and spiritual life of the Russian society. I told Boris Nikolayevich a year back that, irrespective of my attitude toward him or vice versa, I remain a citizen and he remains a president. So, our relations should develop appropriately. The president should not view people as reds, browns, blues, or whites. The president has the people—the Russian people. So, in some issues the president must place himself above the parliament and above the government, and be responsible for the whole of the nation."

Returning to the subject of the mistakes that have been made, Abdulatipov says: "Just take a close look: there are endless, virtually endless arguments on who has what powers, and almost no arguments at all about responsibility. This is the main thing that corrodes our statehood and our morality." On ways out of the impasse, he declares: "If we really want to move forward to creative activity, we should look for the positive tendencies that exist both in the work of the president and the government, as well as in the activity of the Supreme Soviet." On the post-referendum attitudes of small Russian Federation nations he says: "Even before the referendum, I was saying that minor peoples have nothing to look forward to from this referendum. Whichever way we choose to vote, there are only about 15 percent of us, small peoples, in Russia, so much depends on the mood, the well-being, the consensus, and the fellowship of the Russian people, primarily. Therefore I would like to wish, for the Russian people, first of all, as well as for other peoples of Russia, that these currents, if I may say so, or genetic instincts of consensus and fellowship, that Russia has will reach the federal authority." He concludes by citing a Chinese proverb on the importance of accord.

Abdulatipov Comments on Work With Regions

MK0105080093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, by Lev Aleynik in Moscow; date not given; carried under "Federation" rubric: "Russia Does Not Need Warriors"]

[Text] [Aleynik] This is not the first year that pessimists have prophesied Russia's inevitable disintegration. However, you, Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich, doggedly oppose them with your absolute optimism, stating that for centuries to come Russia will be an integral multiethnic state. On what is your confidence based?

[Abdulatipov] We have already succeeded in doing some things to prevent disintegration. It is no accident that I am frequently asked to assess my joint work with Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy, to reconcile the opposing sides in my native Caucasus. The situation can to some extent serve as a gauge for the whole of Russia of our possibilities and of the limits of what is achievable. In the past year I have consistently warned that the conflicts in the Transcaucasus, in particular, could soon act as the driving force of civil war in Russia itself. I repeat again that all the factors needed to start it have accumulated in the Caucasus. The instigators' "hot-tempered hearts" are fired up by the historical facts of the deportation and repression of entire peoples, the bitter centuries-old land conflicts, and the thousands of present border conflicts. In the North Caucasus there is not a single territorial or national formation which in the last 100 years has not changed its geographical outline five or 10 times! Shakhray and I went there knowing that the Caucasian republics are in 60-65th place in terms of the living standard in the Russian Federation—Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia.... The latter has been neglected, it simply does not have the socioeconomic infrastructures characteristic even of the mid-20th century: higher educational establishments, factories, plants, theaters.... In the Caucasus there are strong clan and religious interests of the patriarchal persuasion, confined to small groups. This highly polarizes society. Everybody recalls how passions were inflamed by the Moscow campaign against "persons of Caucasian nationality," shamefully prompted by the events in the Transcaucasus and Chechnya. The Soviet of the Nationalities' efforts, especially with Sergey Shakhray's appointment as chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy, nipped the conflict in the bud and possibly averted a Caucasian war.

[Aleynik] Could I ask you to cite an example of the fruitfulness of the combined efforts you have made in the Caucasus?

[Abdulatipov] At that time we, in particular, managed to persuade the sides to jointly agree on principles for interethnic mutual relations there. The North Caucasus Coordinating Council was formed, and under its aegis we started the long-awaited talks between Ingushetia and North Ossetia. The first protocols have already been signed. Simultaneously the accompanying situation started to become clear: Trends toward stabilization appeared in Chechnya (it is a pity that the recent events in its power structures have again inflamed the situation). Peace there is the result of work with parliaments and leaders of social forces—Soslanbekov, Akhmadov, and Mamodayev—and of telephone talks with General Dudayev and other people.

[Aleynik] Do you believe that the principles for a model policy aimed at stabilization have already been mapped out in the Caucasus?

[Abdulatipov] I think so. The basic principles have been defined. Most social movements have started to cooperate with us. These are movements disposed toward stabilizing the situation. My and Shakhray's combined team has carried out difficult work to unite those who

have taken completely different stances. But there is immeasurably more still to be done. The crises in Moscow, however, are exhausting everyone who wants to work for peace.

[Aleynik] Indeed, the recent meeting in Nalchik showed that the vehemence of anti-Russian sentiments has apparently started to decrease....

[Abdulatipov] Our chamber specially delegated several deputies to make detailed on-the-spot investigations: What specifically is worrying people; which problems must be solved without delay; what are the Caucasian peoples' representatives proposing; and how, from their viewpoint, should we act. Shakhray and I paid special attention to these "prompts:" We made preparations for a 26 March meeting of the North Caucasus Coordinating Council in Maykop, where we got together to discuss the work of the North Caucasus Economic Association and questions concerning defense, security, and the upholding of legality and law and order. Ministers and prosecutors were to have delivered reports there. The people responsible for interethnic relations between Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, and Ajaria were also invited there. And many people agreed to come. The Federal Migration Service was given the task of collecting complete information on the refugee problem and a model solution for it.

But the meeting did not take place. It is a pity that political games at the top here in Moscow are endlessly distracting us. We are losing the clout of state authority. The latest development of events is reducing all my and Sergey Shakhray's efforts to normalize the situation literally to nothing. Tkae, for example, the president's recent edict "On the Reformation of the Military Structures of Border and Internal Troops on the Territory of the Russian Federation's North Caucasus Region and On State Support for the Cossacks" (for some reason they are put together?!). It turns out that we are being returned to the phase of Shamilevskiy warriors [allusion unknown].

[Aleynik] Are your arguments against the edict or its consequences?

[Abdulatipov] At the latest Congress I strongly advocated that the validity of this edict be suspended, which is insulting above all to the Cossacks themselves. Furthermore, I made an amendment with an instruction to the government to take immediate measures to implement the decree "On the Rehabilitation of the Cossacks." Above all I assure you that I have the greatest respect for the Cossacks. During the year our chamber very patiently drafted the decree on rehabilitating them and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet adopted it, and now we are doing everything to implement it. But instead of working, the executive branch decided to engage in political flirting with the Cossacks. The fragile peace established between the Cossacks and the mountain people could be destroyed by this one-sided edict. I wrote the president a memorandum pointing out that everything done by me and Shakhray was being destroyed. It is entirely correct to raise the question of reviving age-old Cossack traditions, but along this road it is fatal to use extremist forces to revive the most dangerous tendencies. After all, we had hardly managed to avoid the revival of a multitude of national armies in the North Caucasus: Every national movement was starting to form them. In my native Dagestan, on my initiative the Avar national movement was the first to demand that armed formations be disbanded in the name of peace. But what is starting now? Patient consultations are needed with the leaders of interested republics, krays, and oblasts and with the most authoritative leaders of national movements and organizations in order to preserve peace.

Not only I but also many other people have clearly seen the obvious priority given by the president's edict to one, let us say, stratum of the Russian Federation's population, to one people or status over others. This priority, however, is not needed by the Cossacks themselves: They have the same rights as the country's other inhabitants. And suddenly we return them to the state of past centuries, to carrying out police and guard functions! How can it fail to be understood that this has been done—wittingly or unwittingly—for the benefit of only the extremist section of the Cossacks?! The revival of the Cossacks is a more complex process which concerns the deepest foundations of its life.

[Aleynik] Russia's present national-territorial system: Do you consider it an obstacle to the implementation of economic reform?

[Abdulatipov] No. But maybe there is some other ideal variant. The Russian Federation's national-state and territorial system must now be changed in content according to the Federation Treaty concept—in essence, not in form.

[Aleynik] In what way?

[Abdulatipov] Through the Federation Treaty we have guaranteed the same economic, political, and cultural rights for every person irrespective of place of residence, kray, oblast, republic, or autonomous entity. Second, everybody belongs to the Federation Treaty, retaining their initial status, but everybody obeys one constitution. If somebody wants exceptions, let him conclude additional agreements with the government, without prejudice to others. The Federation Treaty's current mechanism to a great extent takes account of the specific characteristics of peoples and territories, so that there are no disputes, and changes the substance of subjects' relations, thus forming a single federative structure. In this respect the Federation Treaty is the basis on whose foundation reform can be carried out while taking account of specific characteristics. The Federation is a treaty that is actually about friendship and brotherhood, and this is how I interpret this concept.

Two years ago, during discussion of the "500-Days Program" in the Supreme Soviet, I reminded zealous deputies not to forget that reform would be carried out not only in Moscow and Petersburg but throughout Russia. To what extent have these "thousands of reforms" been tailored, how have they been adapted to regions' specific characteristics? Badly. This voice, unfortunately, has not been heard. A forcible road of reforms has been introduced from the center, without considering the positions people have been forced to change. Moreover, leaders of republics, krays, and oblasts have not even been put in the picture to enable them, based on the overall trend of the development of reforms in the Russian Federation, to elaborate their own versions: Tatar, Mordovian, Krasnoyarsk, and so on.

[Aleynik] But by the Seventh Congress the president and government had started talking specifically about special regional characteristics...

[Abdulatipov] Yes, time was lost! But despite that, reforms are now proceeding much more convincingly in regions than in capitals, with consideration being given to specific characteristics. People have engaged in buying and selling in a revolutionary way here, but in an evolutionary way in the provinces. I have seen this for myself in Chuvashia and Ryazan and Samara Oblasts. It is a good thing that reform has progressed to a subregional level: Like in the Nizhniy Novgorod area, which only recently had the specific characteristic of being a "closed" city living off the defense complex.

We are developing the regional level of reforms on the pattern of the North Caucasus, with its Economic Association. At the moment, however, the regional level...is rather empty: Integration, cooperation, and so forth are extremely weak, and it is not only in this region that ties have not been developed.

[Aleynik] There and everywhere else the main question is that of ownership, primarily of land. Your forecast of the regions' and republics' reaction to the actual introduction of private land ownership?

[Abdulatipov] Three years ago in my native Buynakska, in Makhachkala, when being nominated to run in the deputies elections I insisted that rayon soviets must fix their own price for land, because people want to obtain plots. But in actual fact officials are selling land under the table, putting the money into their pockets instead of the treasury. How furious people then became with me, a populist.... It is the duty of local administrations and soviets to assign a plot near a city, to organize water, roads, electric grids, and gas there, to provide amenities, and to say to their fellow citizens: Come and get your land. Everything is being approved at the level of the Russian Federation Supreme Court president—the land question has already been solved for those who want it. But everything is getting stuck to and filtered out by the hands of grasping officials.

[Aleynik] Is it not because of fundamental questions of property ownership that a "summit-level clearout" is going on now?

[Abdulatipov] Now is the time to be in power at a historic moment, when property is being distributed. He who is now in power or adjacent to it is receiving his piece. There is a multitude of examples. Around 50,000 facilities are being privatized in Russia, from which the treasury will receive almost 48 billion rubles [R]. In my native Dagestan 321 facilities are being privatized, through whose sale the state has received R187 billion. Each one costs less than a couple of tires for a good car. There are cases whereby a car is written off at a stroke and sold to the necessary people at a clearance price of R700.

Clans and national groups (elites) are making huge profits through their proximity to power. Like those who have the opportunity to distribute credits: By setting the wheels of power in motion they are tripling and increasing tenfold their mega-fortunes. This is precisely what the main policy of bureaucrats in Moscow is, and not only there. I have told both the president and the government that all credits must be issued under specific justified programs: Because credits worth billions have flowed into republics but they have not reached industrialists or peasants—they have gotten stuck to somebody's hands en route. I spoke to Dagestan's director corps: Not even 5 percent had reached them! What is happening is exacerbating the hyperinflationary processes: In a year's time republics and regions will owe trillions to the federal budget. But where will they get them from if they are not producing anything?

It is especially those who have access to power sources—oil, gas, coal, metal—who are holding on to the controls. Whoever issues licenses for these is being rewarded with "greenbacks." The worse the circle of "grabbers" is, the narrower it is. The Supreme Soviet and the Congress and the president and vice president are waving the big stick. Various groups, fearing that tomorrow the big stick will land on their head, will bring them down. So they are setting the authorities against each other: While the authorities are fighting there is time to take care of business in capitals and at home. This is how the struggle is going on, we are moving toward chaos. God grant us the wisdom not to slide into civil war.

Parliament Response to Yeltsin Constitution Bid Viewed

MK3004121293 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 9

[Veronika Kutsyllo report: "Yeltsin Has Presented His Draft Constitution. Boris Yeltsin Will Take Full Advantage of Referendum Results]

[Excerpts] **Having secured approval on Wednesday from virtually all members of the Presidential Council, Boris Yeltsin yesterday launched a massive campaign for the adoption of a new Russian Constitution. Much as**

expected, Boris Yeltsin intends to employ members of the federation as the main strike force to overcome resistance from the deputy corps. The first post-referendum step in this direction was made yesterday at a meeting of the Council of Heads of Republics and Administrations of Russia: the presidential draft of a new constitution was officially unveiled to regional leaders. Also yesterday, parliament approved a decree on the procedure for the adoption of a new Constitution which had been approved at the Sixth Congress as a basis for discussion. Thus, experts note, the political crisis in Russia may soon be transformed into a struggle of two constitutions. [passage omitted]

In fact, active resistance by the deputy corps was already manifesting itself yesterday. The parliamentarians immediately reacted to the president's first strong-willed post-referendum actions—yesterday the Supreme Soviet passed a decree on the procedure for adopting a new Constitution. Compared to the president's proposals, parliament's proposal comes a bit too late: while the president asked members of the federation to send in their remarks on the draft as early as 20 May, according to the deputies' decree, it is only the main provisions of the draft that are supposed to be drawn up by then. The people's representatives have postponed the adoption of the constitution all the way to October, whereas the president's version may be adopted as early as the summer, judging by Yeltsin's speech yesterday at the session of heads of republics and administrations.

Most probably, the president's circle will not be especially impressed by yesterday's statement from the Supreme Soviet speaker, who noted that now that a decree on drafting a Constitution has been adopted, "the legitimacy of the Congress is not subject to doubt." Boris Yeltsin advised the Congress and the Supreme Soviet to make up their minds: "whether they support the course of the president, or whether these bodies will enter into a confrontation with the people themselves." He will hardly agree with this assertion of the speaker.

Constitutional Panel's Rumyantsev on Working Group

PM3004181593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Aleksandr Linkov report: "Path of Possible Consensus"]

[Text] An expanded session of the Constitutional Commission working group and its experts was held 27 April in the Supreme Soviet. The situation relating to the recent galvanization of the idea of preparing and adopting a new Constitution was discussed. What decisions were adopted at the session? We invited Constitutional Commission Senior Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev to tell us about them:

"Unfortunately, the members of our working group and the Constitutional Commission do not yet have the full text of the so-called presidential draft, the main provisions of which have been published.

"Our session was held in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. A group was formed to hold consultations with the Russian president. It includes Deputies N. Ryabov, V. Sheynis, L. Volkov, V. Mazayev, S. Buldayev, and myself. We hope to meet with Boris Nikolayevich at the beginning of May.

"The conference participants also noted the danger that the Russian president could 'bypass' the possible consensus which the official version of the new Constitution opens up.

"It was decided at the session to prepare a comparative legal analysis of the official draft Constitution and the draft of the Sobchak-Shakhray initiative. At the same time it is intended to direct the working group's efforts toward adopting a new Constitution and also transitional provisions which will ensure the evolutionary development of the legal system and the institutions of state power in the direction of the new constitutional system once the Fundamental Law has been adopted.

"For our part we will do everything we can to meet the president halfway. It remains to be seen whether he will display the same mutual understanding."

Commentary Notes Supreme Soviet Movement on Media

LD0105183393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 May 93

[Commentary by correspondent Tatyana Khudobina; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Foreign news agencies are continuing to comment on how events are developing in the Russian Supreme Soviet. They say that this body is increasingly resembling a glass flask, and is cut off from real life. Yet things are in ferment in the flask. Last week, the Committees on Economic Reform and the Mass Media were disbanded, and the Committee on Human Rights is under threat, say the experts.

The so-called reorganization taking place within the Supreme Soviet is quite simply a battle against dissidents, say the experts. The Mass Media Committee has been disbanded. The official reason was poor legislative performance. What is most important is that the law on the press should function, the members of the Committee believe. They did not support the myriad attempts by the Supreme Soviet leadership to regulate media workers. The second reason is the outcome of the referendum, the blame for which has been laid fair and square at the media's door by the speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. So the committee, naturally, is also to blame for failing to influence the media.

The Supreme Soviet has set up a temporary working commission to study the situation in television and

radio. It will evidently form the basis for a federation supervisory council, whose functions are described by its title. It will bring its censorship efforts to bear primarily on the company chiefs, whose fate is naturally closely linked to their subordinates' creative output. It is not difficult to guess just what this vicious circle will lead to.

However, there is one small thing in the way: the law on the press does not allow interference in broadcasting policy, be it by some supervisory council dreamed up by the Supreme Soviet, or even founding investors. The reformers in Parliament have one option—to change the law. That is what they are trying to do right now, with enviable ease and sense of purpose.

At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet the working group headed by Vladimir Lisin, chairman of the committee on the mass media, has drawn up a draft law that would make amendments and additions to the existing law on the media. This draft's clause on the Federal Supervisory Council says that it would be empowered to appoint and dismiss the heads of the pan-Russian State Television and Radio Companies, with the approval of the Supreme Soviet.

Sokolov Assails Government Economic Record

PM2904115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic, by Vladimir Sluzhakov under the rubric "Competent Opinion"; place and date not given: "Duplicity of Reform"]

[Text] Inflation remains the main problem preoccupying both parliament and the government. But each has his own view of the solution to this problem. The most widespread story is that the Central Bank is the focus of all evil. You need only bring it to heel and limit credits to industry, and prices will calm down. It was under this slogan that the agreement was reached between the Central Bank and the government on a 30-percent limitation of the volume of credit. This enabled the president to publicly express some optimism about the future development of the economic crisis.

However, the parliamentary hearings on credit and financial policy have shown that matters are by no means so simple. Especially as, after the attempts to proclaim a moratorium on pro-inflationary policies, the executive branch together with the Congress of People's Deputies immediately promised to index the population's deposits in the savings bank and the president was lavish in dispensing benefits ahead of the referendum... You get the impression that, in addition to the federal budget, there is some other budget that no one knows anything about.

Veniamin Sokolov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republic, comments on the situation.

[Sokolov] Some steps by the government are occasionally very reminiscent of the style of Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] workers: They adopt a decree and couldn't care less what happens next. Yes, the most important task is to bring down inflation, but let's see how to do this. I am not going to whitewash the Central Bank, but we must evaluate and provide a prognosis for the credit policy proposed by the government. What is the basis of the claims that we will increase the volume of credit by no more than 18-20 percent per month? What will be the rate of decline in production in these circumstances? You will scarcely find an answer to this question and others.

I am an advocate of at least making an inventory of sources of inflation before making a decision. What is causing it? I will try to list just a few factors. In first place there is the slump in production. Consumption is not declining, because there is a certain minimum level that cannot be abandoned in our country. As a result prices, and in their footsteps wages, are rising. A considerable role is also played here by Central Bank credits channeled via commercial banks. In order to make a living without producing anything, those banks regularly inflate interest rates for brokerage operations. Money leaks out of production into commercial mafia structures. The dreadful work of the tax inspectorate means that around 40 percent of taxes do not reach the exchequer. That is the estimate of new Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. Such is the scale of the shadow economy.

At least 10 ministries in the government have the right to issue licenses and determine quotas, but there is a lack of elementary accounting and control here. Who has exported how much, and how much money did they leave abroad? No one can say what is happening, and the most terrible result of this is the dollar exchange rate, which is deliberately maintained. Although it is at least 10 times too high. So you can estimate what proportion of the national product is exported practically for free with these tens of billions of dollars left abroad.

In the CIS countries we were forced to use cash and technical credits, which are scarcely likely ever to be repaid, to ensure the ruble area. Finally, take tax breaks. Since the year before last the executive branch has actively used them in political struggle, including the campaign for the presidency. Last year, in violation of the law, breaks totaling 150-200 percent of the federal budget deficit were granted to individual enterprises, territories, and entire sectors. After this is it surprising that we have such inflation?

But notice that now attempts are being made to plug this entire inflationary hole merely by banning the issue of credit to cover circulating capital from enterprises and reducing the budget deficit. Once again at the expense of the financing of science, medicine, and so forth. Of course, this is much easier than organizing accounting and control over currency operations and collecting taxes, but no one wants to see this.

[Sluzhakov] Nevertheless, Vice Premier V. Shumeyko makes an extremely optimistic assessment of the situation, although at those same parliamentary hearings experts predicted that prices will increase almost 100-fold by the end of the year if everything goes in this "optimistic" vein.

[Sokolov] What Shumeyko says is either incompetent or unscrupulous. Probably the latter. Judging by the impartial analysis of the Academy of Sciences, we have now entered a state of catastrophe. This will affect the living standards of entire generations, and the few positive results of the reform cannot compensate for even a fraction of the negative consequences. The state can live and develop in a normal fashion if each woman of the appropriate age has 2.2 children. Between 1987 and 1992 this figure fell to 1.7. Whatever people may say, this is an objective indicator of living standards.

So we need an impartial analysis of what has happened. I think that this was by no means a mistake but a deliberate action imposed upon our leadership by the relevant transatlantic advisers. Although, as their own colleagues testify, we will disappear as a great state if we take this path. So it is now important at long last to abandon duplicity in the reform policy and to stop concealing the real processes. Clear restrictions to prevent the deterioration of the nation's health, the collapse of high-technology production facilities, and the political collapse of the country must at long last be put in place.

[Sluzhakov] It is precisely this or something more that is meant when there is talk of elaborating an alternative reform policy for the Congress to be held in summer, but while it used to be claimed that the government rejected deputies' proposals on implementing reform, now, after the Seventh Congress, the cabinet is headed by someone whom the deputies voted for...

[Sokolov] They very strongly did not want Gaydar at that time and resolved this task. As for his replacement, the president did not put forward the person who received most votes, and if the former policy continues, the question of Chernomyrdin too will arise. By the summer Congress he will have to present not only a program, but an accountability report. He will have been in power for six months, and it will be possible to speak of results. So far there is more talk than action.

So, in speaking of an alternative reform policy, it is primarily a matter of involving the section of the government that really understands what kind of reforms are being implemented in our country in a dialogue with the participation of a wide range of specialists and deputies. What assessment can be made of the real threats and possible paths of development? So that a publicly approved blueprint for alternative development and for preventing disaster can be referred to the Congress.

In three years no program except the notorious "500 Days" program has been discussed at the professional level. Any change of direction in U.S. economic policy is accompanied by dozens of hearings in Congress and everything is carefully weighed up, but in our country the president comes along, delivers a 10-minute speech, and you are faced with emergency powers tailored to suit radical reforms. This is something from the realm of psychological phenomena. It is now a question of attaining a normal level of work.

[Sluzhakov] Right from the start you dealt with the budget in parliament. Deputies used not to be allowed anywhere near it. They were merely a rubber stamp. Isn't something similar also happening now? For instance, the government's initial announced federal budget deficit for the year has already been reached in the first quarter. At the end of the year deputies will probably approve whatever budget has emerged. So what is the point of all the work? And don't you have a sense of futility or helplessness that you cannot rectify anything, everything just proceeds according to some sort of laws of its own?

[Sokolov] No, there has been nothing like that, I have plenty of practical experience—I spent 13 years as university rector—and also I know what we are up against. Circumstances have brought many immoral and incompetent people to the summit of power, but there are also people with state know-how who are biding their time. An appropriate political struggle and work is needed here. There are some things making it possible to look to the future with confidence.

[Sluzhakov] For instance?

[Sokolov] First, real consolidation is under way among specialists who are truly prepared to create a highly efficient economy from a statesmanlike standpoint. Second, I am confident that public opinion, despite the massive crazy indoctrination, is inclining to the view that we can no longer continue along the former path.

Regional Affairs

Chechen Court Issues Recommendations to Dudayev

LD0105144293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] The answer to President Dzhokhar Dudayev by the Chechen Republic Constitutional Court was distributed today in Groznyy. In particular, the Constitutional Court recommends:

Forming a cabinet of ministers of national trust, with direct participation by members of parliament, representatives of local government, and the clergy, coalition parties, and movements and social and trade union organizations by 15 May;

Confirming the membership of the cabinet of ministers after its announcement in the media, taking account of suggestions received from citizens;

Issuing a presidential order on halting the activity of all illegal armed formations, declaring them outside the law, and working out a means of enforcing this decree by 10 May;

Establishing a moratorium on processions, rallies, and strikes as means of settling political problems for a period of six months;

Immediately beginning negotiations with the Russian Federation on issues of mutual relations on a basis of equal rights.

I remind you that these were excerpts from the answer to President Dzhokhar Dudayev by the Chechen Republic Constitutional Court distributed today in Groznyy.

Chechen Deputies Grant Speaker's Request To Resign

LD0205161193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Tension persists in Groznyy. The parliament of the Chechen Republic examined at its sitting today the request from the chairman to resign. Following debates, which did not last long, the deputies agreed to release (Husseyn Rakhmanov) from his duties as chairman of the parliament at his own request. Yusup Soslanbekov head of a committee, was elected speaker at the same sitting.

Groznyy Administration Rejects Dudayev Decree on Assembly

LD0205163193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] A report from Groznyy states that the administration of the capital of the Chechen Republic and rayons issued a statement here today, noting that the president's decree to dissolve the Groznyy Municipal Assembly runs counter to the existing Constitution and the law on local self-government of the Chechen Republic. In connection with this it is stated that the decree by Dudayev is not liable to be implemented and that the administration of Groznyy and of the city's rayons will implement the decisions of Groznyy Municipal Assembly, elected by the city's population through general elections.

Dudayev Supporters, Opponents Hold Groznyy Rallies

LD0205173093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1325 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Groznyy, 2 May—Despite today being a working day, two rallies in groznyy—of supporters and of opponents of the Chechen Republic President Dzhokhar Dudayev—are continuing. Last night, the local television revealed the names of the organizers of the rally on Theatre Square, where opponents of President Dudayev are meeting. A meeting of the heads of the militarized detachments loyal to President Dudayev, which are not included in the system of the Chechen Ministry of Security, is scheduled for this evening. As the ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed it is intended to discuss the methods of interaction in case of conflict.

In general the situation in the city is quiet: There are a lot of people in the streets, shops and kiosks are working, flower sellers are briskly selling lilacs and lilies of the valley. The situation is being controlled by the detachments of President Dudayev.

Dudayev Blames Chechen Parliament for Russian Talks Failure

LD0205191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1903 GMT 2 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Groznyy May 2 TASS—President of the Chechen Republic Dzhokhar Dudayev regards the republic's parliament responsible for the failure of the talks with Russia. He told this to TASS on Sunday.

"We have tried to establish relations at the level of the representative authorities, but nothing has come of this", Dudayev said. "Meanwhile the executive authorities of Chechnya and Russia were ready for cooperation. Both sides have realised this. Nothing good has ever been achieved by confrontation," he said.

The Chechen president said the executive aurthorities in the Chechen Republic, just as in Russia, have landed in a difficult situation. "This is particularly true of Russia where the Supreme Soviet has actually usurped power. The executive authorities lost the levers of control over finance, the economic area, the military activity, evrything."

The Chechen president said that while the status of the Russian state changed thrice of late, the Russian Supreme Soviet remains and continues to reflect the interests of old structures. The present Russian Supreme Soviet looks like an unsinkable aircraft-carrier. In this situation, progress is impossible. There is a special need for a strong, firm, guaranteed power at times of transition, Dudayev said.

As to Chechnya's economic relations with Russia, the president said they are not broken. "This is simply impossible. How can a system built over 70 years be broken?"

Dudayev said he hopes for all kinds of cooperation with Russia—political, economic, military.

Yeltsin, Mordovian President Discuss Power Crisis

MK3004125093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 10

[Dmitriy Kamyshev report published in "Government: Economics and Politics" column: "Conflict in Mordovia Must Be Resolved by Constitutional Methods"]

[Excerpts] The conflict between the executive and the legislative branches of government in Mordovia (as reported by KOMMERSANT-DAILY on 9 and 10 April) has again sharpened in recent days following the Russian parliament's decision to suspend the Russian president's edict on the situation in Mordovia. Yesterday after a session of the Federation Council, republic President Vasiliy Guslyannikov and Boris Yeltsin discussed further steps toward resolving the conflict. [passage omitted]

A situation of dual power emerged in the republic: In addition to the "old" government led by President Vasiliy Guslyannikov, there is also a "new" one formed by the Supreme Soviet. Until recently Guslyannikov's main argument in his dispute with the parliament has been the support of the Russian Government, enabling him to retain the main administrative levers (members of the "new" government were simply not received in Moscow as ministers). Following the Russian Supreme Soviet's decision, however, the Chernomyrdin cabinet has found itself in a very complicated situation: Support for Mordovia's president may well be evaluated as a violation of constitutional norms.

According to Mordovian Vice President Vladimir Narezhnoy, who held a press conference in Moscow in advance of the meeting between the two presidents, the dual power situation in the republic has disorganized the process of administration from top to bottom. Narezhnoy described the 27 April decree of the Russian parliament as "encouraging the fight initiated by the Mordovian Supreme Soviet," as a result of which the situation in the republic "may just explode." The vice president also expressed his regret over the Constitutional Court's delay in considering the Mordovian president's petition and stressed that he hopes that the conflict will be resolved by exclusively constitutional methods.

Mordovian President Removed From Post, Works With Parliament

LD3004182993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1743 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS Correspondent Aleksey Papeta]

[Text] Salansk April 30 TASS—Mordovian President Vasiliy Guslyannikov met Government Chairman Valeriy Shvetsov today to acquaint the latter with today's government resolution "on provision of activities of executive power bodies and public order in Mordovia", Press Secretary of the Mordovian President Anatoliy Antonov told ITAR-TASS today.

The resolution instructs Russian ministries and departments and other federal executive power bodies to render assistance to the Mordovian president and his government in fulfillment of their duties till the solution to the dyarchy problem in Mordovia by the Russian Constitutional Court.

Another reason for the meeting was difficulties the republican economy is facing due to the dyarchy. Two local ministries of finance have limited spheres of competence: The Presidential Ministry supervises federal allocations and credits and the one of the Council of Ministers - republican finances.

Shvetsov, however, did not agree to settle the problem, saying he can take a decision only on coordination with Parliament Speaker Nikolay Buryukov, who is currently in Moscow.

The meeting and its agenda were estimated by local observers and correspondents as the first and considerable concession of Guslyannikov to the Council of Ministers and the parliament, after he was removed from the presidential post. Previously, Guslyannikov excluded any concessions, referring to the Russian president's decree on situation in Mordovia.

As the Russian Parliament suspended the decree, the position of Guslyannikov became contradictory despite the support of the Russian Government, observers say. In their opinion, Guslyannikov was not satisfied with this support and results of his recent Moscow trip.

Meanwhile, the president-headed government continues regular work. Today's government meeting worked out measures to ensure order in the republic during May holidays.

The situation in Mordovia is calm. There are no rallies or excesses caused by the dyarchy.

Kalmykia's President Declares Soviet Power Over

LD3004214193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Once upon a time the triumphal procession of soviet power around the country did not begin in Kalmykia. But it has turned out that this small autonomous region may go down in history as the pioneer of desovietization. [passage omitted] [video cuts to show K. Ilyumzhinov, president of Kalmykia, speaking outdoors to correspondent]

[Ilyumzhinov] Kalmykia has become a small pocket where soviet power has ceased to exist. May this pocket extend to cover the whole of Russia. Today, power really has been handed over to the people. In 1917 power was taken away from people and land was taken away from the people and today power is being returned to the people.

Recounts Meeting With Yeltsin

LD2804204793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Yevgeniy Fadeyev] President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, the youngest president in the world, held his first news conference today in Moscow. At 31 years of age he was recently elected first president of the Republic of Kalmykia in a nationwide election. Kirsan calls himself a capitalist. Others call him a multi-millionaire or even a billionaire. He already has his own fortune. Now he wants to make the whole of Kalmykia happy. He does, moreover, see the republic's prosperity only within a united democratic mighty Russian Federation.

He shocked many with his first decrees. He made himself head of state, abolished the Ministry of State Security in Kalmykia, and two days ago dissolved the government, sending 40 ministers into retirement. Now only five remain.

On 30 April, he stated, the republic's Supreme Soviet will assemble to dissolve itself. On that same day soviets of all levels will cease to exist on the territory of Kalmykia. In the fall, elections are to be held to a professional parliament which will consist of 25 people in all.

The newly elected president refused financial support from Moscow. Whereas formerly the republic was 95 percent funded by subsidies from Russia, now it will earn its own living.

Kirsan Ilyumzhinov reported that he had an hour-long conversation with Boris Yeltsin today, during which he proposed making Kalmykia an original testing ground for introducing presidential rule in the country, and for implementing other political and economic reforms.

[Fadeyev, addressing Ilyumzhanov] What did the Russian president think of that idea?

[Ilyumzhanov] He thought it was good, he regarded it positively. I said: Boris Nikolayevich, we don't need to repeat the mistakes that we made after the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Now since the victory in the referendum is already obvious, we must therefore step up the pace. And Kalmykia will serve as an example for this.

Views Democracy, Reforms

PM0305094593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Yevgeniy Skukin article: "Kirsan Ilyumzhinov: Boris Yeltsin Approved My Proposal To Use Kalmyk Model as Proving Ground for Russian Reforms"]

[Text] The president of Kalmykia, it seems, is really preparing to try on the khan's robes for size. In any event, when answering questions from Russian and foreign journalists he did not dissociate himself from the possibility of the monarch's title: "It does not matter which name you use. The main thing is that there should be someone in charge both in Russia and in every republic who would be prepared to accept responsibility and implement reforms for the good of the people." Yet this means nothing more nor less than the concentration of three branches of power in the president's hands and rigid censorship of the fourth estate. All this fits ill with Kirsan Ilyumzhinov's stated aim: "A prosperous Kalmykia in a united democratic Russian Federation." Does it look like democracy if, following Kalmykia's example, the activities of opposition parties are completely suspended, parliaments disbanded, and new, primarily token, parliaments are "elected"?

Meanwhile, the multimillionaire Kirsan Ilyumzhinov himself does not claim to be a democratic ruler: "It was not a democrat or a communist who became the first president of Kalmykia but a capitalist. Democracy is good when the people are well fed and when every citizen has equal opportunities to control his own destiny."

You will remember that something similar has already been said before in history. What has democratic Russia to do with it? That time it was in Munich in 1933.

When your correspondent asked whether the president's unconstitutional actions are evidence of the establishment of a dictatorship, Kirsan Ilyumzhinov replied that the republic is starting to live according to its own Constitution. Under that constitution the president—as head of state—can dissolve parliament, suspend all directives and orders, and appoint the directors of plants and sovkhozes.

In conclusion I should like to mention the outstanding model which is alleged to be the prototype of the Russian model. On 11 April, that is the day of the Kalmyk presidential elections, all the local soviets were closed. But the members of the Supreme Soviet were instructed to hold an extraordinary session 30 April and adopt a constitutional law under which they would form a 25-member parliament from among their own number (presently 130 members) headed by a speaker (not a chairman). In Ilyumzhinov's words, the first republic without soviets in Russia is being born on 30 April. Two months later a law on early elections will be adopted, the present parliament will be dissolved, and in September a professional parliament, again consisting of 25 members, will be elected.

Meanwhile, Kirsan Ilyumzhinov also has experience to offer the Russian executive. For example, he has disbanded the Council of Ministers and its 40 ministries. There are now just five. The Russian counterparts, however, are increasing in number with alarming vigor. The president totally disagrees with the Chubays concept of privatization which, in his words, is a gravy train for greedy civil servants, and he intends to hoard all the Kalmyk vouchers and bring them to Moscow where he will exchange them for hard currency, or at least "paper" money.

Incidentally, the economic aspect of the Kalmyk model remains a great enigma. The republic has turned down Russian subsidies (last year they amounted to 20 billion

rubles) and is cutting taxes to 3 percent. However, in Ilyumzhinov's words, 30 percent of budget resources will be spent on social needs.

Moscow Court Orders Suspension of DEN

LD3004190593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The Moscow city court today considered a complaint from the Ministry for the Press and Information against a ruling by the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon court declining to satisfy a petition and suspend the activities of the newspaper DEN. The Moscow city court considered the ruling of the Dzerzhinskiy court to be unfounded and canceled it.

The Moscow city court thereby deemed the material presented by the Ministry for the Press and Information about a gross violation of the Law on the Mass Media to be sufficient to suspend the newspaper's publication. This is stated in an announcement by the ministry.

Speaking in the courtroom Aleksandr Prokhanov, editor in chief of DEN, stated that the decision by the court to suspend the activities of the newspaper could lead to disturbances, demonstrations, and picketing of the building housing the Press and Information Ministry.

Moscow Mayor: Time for 'Vigorous Actions' From President

LD0105141593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1402 GMT 1 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Galinskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—"The time has come for the vigorous actions of the president and the entire executive branch to implement the referendum results," Moscow's Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov believes.

By voting to support the reforms pursued by President Boris Yeltsin and the elections of the pool of deputies, Muscovites gave "a constitutionally important" answer to the poll's questions, an answer that "allows no doubts", Luzhkov said in an ITAR-TASS interview today.

The president received a powerful support and "should now step up his actions to form the new state system of Russia, to adopt a new constitution."

The referendum outcome unequivocally showed that the majority of parliament deputies do not reflect the will of their electors and, therefore, early elections are needed.

Luzhkov is convinced that the new constitution should become the legislative base for carrying on reforms. At the same time, he does not rule [out] "the likelihood that the congress will try to bloc all of the president's attempts to adopt the new constitution and hold early parliamentary elections."

"The Supreme Soviet, too, now stands on a superconservative position," he said.

St. Petersburg Mayor Supports Yeltsin on Constitution

LD3004100593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0945 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 30—When the president and his reform policies received the people's approval, Boris Yeltsin has all the basis not only to propose his own constitution, but also a new way to pass it, Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg and member of the Presidential Council, said in an interview with the newspaper "24". The basic law exists within which the frameworks of a decision must be made, he added. "But in Russia we have a special situation: the new political and economic order has shown the complete discrepancy of today's reality with the Constitution we inherited", Sobchak said.

The Federation subjects, who have the right to offer a new procedure to pass the basic law, for example, through a constitutional assembly, may be drawn into this process, the mayor added. This assembly may consist of around 300 people: 50 from the executive branch, 50 from the legislative, 100 from republics, and the rest from political parties, regional and public organizations, movements, and creative unions.

Those elected to this assembly will ratify the Constitution, which is a completely legal way out of the deadend, Sobchak believes, but a lot now depends upon Yeltsin.

In St. Petersburg, the ninth session of the city council, on the basis of the April 25 referendum results, called for a constitutional assembly and the Constitution's ratification by Federation subjects. The council plans to create a deputies' working group with representatives of social and political groups to arrive to an agreed position with Federation subjects.

The city council chairman and Mayor Sobchak have been authorized to organize consultations with republican representatives.

Council Submits Initiative

LD3004204293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] On the basis of the results of a poll among the population carried out on 25 April, St. Petersburg City Council has put forward a legislative initiative to adopt Russia's new constitution by means of a constitutional assembly, with its subsequent ratification by subjects of the Federation.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministry Rebuts Minister's Remark on Nuclear Status

AU3004143993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 29 Apr 93 p 2

["Statement by the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs" in Kiev; date not given]

[Text] On 27 and 28 April 1993, some Ukrainian and foreign mass media published materials that quote, in particular, a remark made by Yuriy Kostenko, minister of environmental protection and leader of a special deputies working group for preparing the ratification of START I, to the effect that Ukraine is a nuclear power.

Regarding this, the Press Center of Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is authorized to state that such an interpretation of Ukraine's status (provided that it was really made) does not reflect the official position and must be treated as Kostenko's personal opinion.

Kravchuk, U.S. Industrialist Discuss Oil Refining

LD3004170293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1117 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk received the well-known American industrialist Oscar Wyatt on 29 April. Issues of mutual interest were discussed during the course of the conversation.

This is my third visit to Ukraine, Wyatt stated to journalists following the talks. In my opinion, all of them have been very successful and useful. They have been devoted to issues of extracting and refining oil, and to the possibility of acquiring pipes. During the course of meetings we also examined the possibility of bringing 1-2 oil refining enterprises of Ukraine up to world standards.

Replying to the question of how he could comment on information in the Russian newspaper DEN about the Ukraine president and Wyatt having held secret talks on exporting oil from the territory of Ukraine to abroad, the American industrialist said that nothing set forth in the publication in question corresponds to reality. There have not been any illegal deals, and could not have been any, he stated. We simply honestly discussed issues of mutually advantageous cooperation. May their publication, in which there is not even a hint of truth, remain on the consciences of the unscrupulous journalists from the DEN newspaper.

Kravchuk, Kuchma Evaluate Recent CIS Summit

MK3004091693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Apr 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under the rubric "CIS" and general heading: "Conference in Minsk Short but Useful. Heads of Government Strengthen Commonwealth]

[Text] Commenting on the results of the Minsk meeting, Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma told your UKRINFORM news agency: "The Ukrainian Government believes that economic issues should be the priority tasks of the Commonwealth. Therefore Ukraine has signed virtually all the documents aimed at stronger ties between Commonwealth member countries. We initialed the coordination committee's statute with the caveat that this committee will occupy itself first and foremost with economic questions."

This behavior of the Ukrainian Government delegation in Minsk attests to the fact that the course, not connected with politics, of further economic integration within the framework of the Commonwealth is gradually winning out. The Ukrainian leaders have apparently decided to seek their fortune in the CIS inasmuch as integration in the European or world economy is proving a failure. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk also spoke of this when he declared for the first time Ukraine's readiness to coordinate anticrisis economic efforts as early as 16 April of this year during the CIS heads of state summit [as published]. On 28 April, Leonid Kravchuk confirmed this idea during his tour of agricultural enterprises in Kiev Oblast when he answered questions on energy for the agriculture sector. At the same time, Ukraine's Ministry of Statistics reported that Russian oil deliveries declined by a third in the year's first quarter, while the volume of its primary refining dropped by 3 million tonnes. Hence, production of gasoline fell 20 percent, and diesel fuel by 7 percent.

Kravchuk Meets Hungarian Premier in Transcarpathia

LD3004164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1525 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Uzhgorod, 30 Apr—Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk visited Transcarpathia Oblast today. He held talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in Uzhgorod. Initially the talks were held behind closed doors, tete-a-tete, then the number of participants was extended. On completion, a Ukrainian-Hungarian communique was signed. Kravchuk and Antall held a news conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists. The president of Ukraine also had a meeting with the leaders of Transcarpathia Oblast. They discussed prospects of creating a special economic zone in the region, as well as a free customs zone, Chop-Inter-Port.

In Kravchuk's opinion, it would be useful to submit this matter for consideration by the Cabinet of Ministers. The head of the Ukrainian state was also informed about the sociopolitical situation in the oblast and on the implementation of measures aimed at coping with the consequences of last year's flood.

In the afternoon, the Ukrainian president visited the checkpoint in Uzhgorod and the customs office. Ukrainian border guards and customs officers working here

have accumulated valuable experience of cooperation with their Slovak colleagues. Kravchuk familiarized himself with the work of Chop-Trading, a Ukrainian-German joint venture trading in the customs areas. On the same day, the Ukraine president left for Kiev.

National Affairs

Republican Party Holds Congress, Elects Leaders

LD0205142893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 2 May 93

[Report by correspondent Oleksiy Havrysh on the fourth congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A retrospective report almost an hour long delivered by party Chairman Mykhaylo Horyn was the major event of the first day of the Ukrainian Republican Party [URP] congress. [passage omitted]

In particular, the speaker noted that the Supreme Council of Ukraine had exhausted itself and that the URP was therefore coming out for its dissolution. As for the cabinet of ministers, Horyn expressed his well-known opinion: There are different people in the cabinet and that is why it is difficult for them to act as a reformist government. A government of professionals has to be formed. Nor does the URP approve of a prompt and unilateral nuclear disarmament. [passage omitted]

As for the distinctive and special features of the party policy, one could mention the selective criticism of the Ukrainian president, which is exactly the expression used by Horyn. The position has justified itself, in his opinion.

The URP also came out in favor of the orientation of Ukraine's development toward the West rather than the east. In the interests of national security, it must secede from the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The URP chairman's report paid particular attention to economic issues. In fact, he put forward a kind of program for rescuing the Ukrainian economy, which is experiencing an acute crisis. Here is what he said:

[Begin Horyn recording] What sort of an economy do we want to build? First, one with a predominance of private ownership, without which our economy would not be well-managed.

Second, one with an aspiration for a close relationship with the world economy; which avoids (?autocracy), which has led to the collapse of socialist countries; in which the growth of goods exported outstrips imports; and which stimulates and supports export goods manufacturers.

Third, one which stabilizes national currency and fights against hyperinflation, which must become a priority activity for the government, even if unpopular measures have to be resorted to.

And fourth, one with an influential but restricted role of the state in the economy. [end recording] [passage omitted]

The work of the URP congress will continue on 2 May. We have just been informed by the press center of the congress that the elections for party chairman have been held. Mykhaylo Horyn, people's deputy of Ukraine and-chairman of the congress of national democratic forces, became leader of the republicans. Four deputy chairmen were confirmed in their posts in accordance with amendments to the statute adopted. They are People's Deputies of Ukraine Levko Horokhivskyy, Mykola Porovskyy, Oles Shevchenko, and (Anatoliy Shebiko), representative of the Kiev Oblast state administration.

Congress Ends

LD0305105493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] The fourth congress of the Ukrainian Republican Party has taken place in Kiev. Over 400 delegates in two days examined and endorsed changes and amendments to the party program and statute, elected the chairman, and confirmed his deputies' tenure of office. Also, new members of party bodies were voted in, and resolutions were passed on documents setting down the party position and tactics in the political, economic, and humanitarian spheres.

In the opinion of party chairman Mykhaylo Horyn, this congress was an assembly of like-minded people. It was a success, he stated at a news conference held on completion of the forum.

Mykhaylo Horyn said that the position taken by the Republican Party is rightwing to centrist. The congress delegates worked from the fact that the political, economic, and management crisis in our state is continuing. The government failed to launch reforms the way it should.

Mykhaylo Horyn described as dangerous Ukraine's priority orientation toward the east, and came out in favor

of the idea of a closer relationship between states of the so-called Baltic-Black Sea Arc.

New Presidential Kiev Representative Assumes Duties

LD3004221493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Leonid Kosakivskyy, the newly appointed representative of the Ukrainian president to Kiev, has begun his duties.

On his first day, the representative introduced himself to staff at the city state administration. Leonid Kosakivskyy and heads of some of the departments discussed legal issues of establishing proper public and sanitary order in the main street of the capital, Khreshchatyk.

If you remember, Mr. Kosakivskyy's predecessor, Ivan Saliy, was dismissed from this office by President Leonid Kravchuk for not performing a number of the latter's instructions.

Moldova

Leaders Hail Referendum Results in Russia

LD2904134093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 29 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau April 29 TASS—"The victory scored by Russia's democratic forces during the referendum creates favourable conditions for the further promotion of friendly and equitable relationships between Moldova and Russia, promises a successful political solution of the Dniester conflict," ITAR-TASS was told today by vice-speaker of the Moldovan parliament Viktor Puskas.

"It is an open secret that the conservative forces opposing President Yeltsin were eager to restore the Soviet empire, that they were behind the separatist tendencies in the Dniester area and wanted Moldova's dismemberment. We hope that Boris Yeltsin will reap the fruits of his victory and will justify the people's confidence in him. Stepped up reforms in Russia and closer economic integration of the former Soviet republics within the Commonwealth of Independent States will allow both Russia and Moldova to surmount the difficult transition period. We want these hopes to come true."

Moldovan President Mircea Snegur addressed a congratulation message to Boris Yeltsin in connection with his referendum victory.

14th Army Commander Lebed Reportedly Removed From Post

LD3004104893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Russian Army in Moldova, has been removed from his post, according to the Moldovan information agency. An Afghan veteran, General Lebed in the past condemned the Moldovan Government and openly championed the cause of the separatist government of the Dniester Republic. According to data, however, he subsequently quarrelled with the leadership of the Dniester region, accusing it of corruption.

Tiraspol Denies Lebed's Recall to Moscow

AU3004122393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1945 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 29/4/1993—The radio of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic denied, with reference to the press service of the Ministry of Defence of Russia, information suggesting the Commander of the 14th Army would have been called back to Moscow and announced that Lebed will return to Tiraspol in the near future. During the radio programme, Vladimir Bondar, the Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet from Tiraspol, and Vladimir Rylyakov, the President of the City Soviet rejected the fact that relations between General Lebed and the leadership of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic had recently worsened and also declared that all forms of protest over the last few days lacked a basis of support. Rylyakov accused representatives of Women's Union for the Defence of Dniester, who beset the headquarters of the City Soviet, of augmenting spirits and undermining the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic.

Lebed Explains Recall

LD2904163293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Protest rallies were held in the Dniester region of eastern Moldova in connection with the departure of General Lebed, commander of the 14th Russian Army deployed in this region, to Moscow. The protests were caused by rumors that the general was recalled permanently because of his conflict with the Dniester leaders. However, Lebed himself stated that he has gone to Moscow on an official business and will return to Dniester on the first available flight.

Lebed Said To Return to Tiraspol 6 May

AU0205155093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1655 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS, 30/4/1993—Reliable sources from the 14th Army communicated to a BASA correspondent that Pavel Grachev, the minister of defense of Russia, decided to maintain General Lebed in his post as the commander of the 14th Army. Before this, General Lebed was re-called to Moscow in connection to allegations of interference into the internal affairs of the self-proclaimed Dniester republic which were brought by more ministers from the government of Tiraspol and also as a result of organized activity performed in Tiraspol by a commission of military prosecutors from Russia. General Lebed denied the allegations directed against him and he is expected to arrive in Tiraspol on May the 6th, together with his family.

Chisinau Signs Accord With U.S. To Protect Investments

LD3004170593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1539 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By MOLDOVA-PRESS for TASS]

[Text] Chisinau April 30 TASS—The United States and Moldova signed a bilateral agreement on mutual encouragement and protection of investments.

The agreement entitles both countries to invest capital on the same terms as the local investors or investors from the third countries do. On the other hand, it

ensures a free movement of capital and observance of the internationally accepted standards of expropriation.

Mickey Kantor, a representative of the U.S. Administration at the talks, who signed the agreement, described it as an indispensable part of the structure needed to expand trade between the two countries.

According to him, the document will help Moldova transfer to the market economy by strengthening the role of the private sector.

Dniester Leader Seeks Talks With Moldova

LD0305115293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Igor Smirnov, leader of the Dniester region, confirmed his interest in negotiations with Chisinau. There is no alternative to the negotiation process, he stressed in a statement published in the DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper. Smirnov commented, however, that Tiraspol has no intention of allowing the Dniester region's government and security force structures to be dismantled and that it stood by the principle of a federal system for Moldova.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Favors 'Collective Defense' of CIS Countries

LD3004144993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1359 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Almaty April 30 TASS—On May 7 this year the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan will mark the first anniversary of their existence. On the eve of this date President Nursultan Nazarbayev visited a motorized infantry division and spoke to its personnel.

"Until lately the republic has upheld the idea of single and then the joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth," the president said. "It is no mere chance that Kazakhstan was one of the last among the states of the former Soviet Union to begin creating its own army. Today as before, the Kazakh leadership is convinced that security of each sovereign state will be more reliable with the collective defense of the Commonwealth countries," Nursultan Nazarbayev noted.

The independent defense building is a complex process which requires taking into consideration absolutely everything, the president stressed. But there is also such an important aspect as a geopolitical one. Kazakhstan occupies a specific position "connecting" the two continents. This demands extremely balanced political steps and decisions in the military field which in no way should break the present stability in the region, Nursultan Nazarbayev noted.

"The Commonwealth countries are expecting much from foreign economic aid, peacemaking efforts of the United Nations and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the settlement of conflict situations in the Commonwealth, the president said. Of course, one may count on aid from somebody else and not reject it, but it is important that we ourselves take coordinated efforts to streamline the situation in the Commonwealth economy and settle conflicts in different regions of the former Soviet Union," the Kazakh president emphasised.

Kazakhstan has already put forward an initiative in this direction. Specifically I mean the creation of a center of preventive diplomacy in Almaty under the auspices of the United Nations, the proposal to call a meeting on interaction and confidence-building measures in Asia. The task of this meeting should be the creation of the mechanism for strengthening peace not only in Asia but also in other regions of the Commonwealth. With that end in view, it could be very helpful to introduce consultations amongst appropriate ministries, departments, public organisations and movements as a constant practice in mutual relations among the Commonwealth countries as a universal means for the settlement of various disputes and conflicts, President Nursultan Nazarbayev said.

"The fact that the probability of a universal nuclear-missile war has been reduced to a minimum has brought many people to a state of psychological complacency although the existing reality gives no grounds for this, the Kazakh president noted.

To maintain an effective system of security in the Commonwealth which would guarantee both collective and individual defense, it is important specifically to observe the agreements adopted within the framework of the Commonwealth on military issues, preserve the existing military-strategic balance based on joint strategic nuclear forces and air-space defense of the Commonwealth countries, adhere to uniform systems of training military personnel and principles of completing troops on coordinated and mutually beneficial terms. In many respects it is supposed to resolve these tasks on the basis of a treaty on military cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia which is now being worked out," President Nursultan Nazarbayev pointed out.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Comments on China Visit

PM3004152193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 93 p 3

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman S. Abdildin by Andrey Krushinskiy in Beijing; date not given: "Experience Warranting Close Attention—Kazakhstan's Parliamentary Speaker on His Trip to China"]

[Text] Beijing—A parliamentary delegation from Kazakhstan visited China during the second 10-day period in April. Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman S. Abdildin, who led the delegation, answered questions from PRAVDA's correspondent before his departure from Beijing.

[Krushinskiy] What, in your view, will be China's role in the life of the Central Asian countries which were previously part of the USSR? How, in turn, will they influence China's life?

[Abdildin] China is a great power, home to one-fifth of the planet's population. Everybody has to contend with its foreign policy, which is fairly tough in its defense of China's national interests. But in addition to this, stability and constructiveness are characteristic of this policy. It will be beneficial for every Central Asian country and the region as a whole to "synchronize their watches" with China. They will, in turn, influence that country. One favorable factor in all this is that in the 70 years of the USSR's existence, its policy toward China was friendly, with the exception of the rifts familiar to all.

[Krushinskiy] What is your view on the Chinese model of forming a market economy?

[Abdildin] During our meeting with [PRC Central Military Commission Chairman] Jiang Zemin, my interlocutor mentioned in particular allegations voiced in the

West that if China grows in strength economically, it may become a threat. In response to this, I told him: Western politicians could just as easily thank you for maintaining order and a normal living environment among a huge, million-plus-strong population. It is especially important that the transition to the market here is effected without a slump in production, despite those theoreticians of market economics who repeat that a "slump" is necessary at first. China's national revenue rises annually by 8-12 percent. This experience warrants the closest attention. I was persuaded at first hand that China is on the right path, and that the approaches worked out here are very interesting for our country too.

Internal Affairs Ministry Fights Crime, Corruption

LD3004180993 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1350 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] On 29 April, a news conference was held at the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs on the activities of the main directorate for the battle against organized crime and corruption. The news conference was conducted by Internal Affairs Minister Vladimir Shumov.

One year ago, when the directorate was established, it had a specific task: to stop the activities of organized criminal groups and to uncover instances of corruption in the state apparatus, public organizations, and other structures and organizations involved in drug trafficking.

It was noted at the news conference that members of the directorate have over the last few months managed to stop the activities of 203 organized criminal groups, 559 criminal proceedings have been instituted, 1,635 crimes have been uncovered, 254 weapons and about 30,000 rounds of ammunition have been confiscated along with 492 kg of drugs. A total loss of almost 9 billion rubles [R] has been established, of which around R 4 billion has actually been returned.

One of the most complex parts of the work of the directorate in the view of the leaders of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, is putting a stop to extortion. Even when an investigation is in process, the racketeers contrive to intimidate and bribe witnesses and victims. The reason for this is that no system for the protection of witnesses has been set up in Kazakhstan yet. It is for this reason that victims often prefer to pay racketeers since going to the militia, which is in no position to defend them, could cost them the lives of their children or relatives. But without mincing words, in these difficult working conditions, members of the directorate have managed to put 110 organized groups of racketeers out of action during the year and three months that they have been working.

The minister for internal affairs also gave the following figures: In the middle of April, the directorate carried out a large-scale operation in the city of Almaty and the Almaty Oblast as a result of which a cachet containing a large number of weapons was discovered in the settlement of Karasu. It emerged that they had been stolen from military installations for one purpose—to sell them. At the same time, one of the organizers of this criminal weapons trade was arrested—a former trainer and international sports master in hand-to-hand fighting with many connections in the criminal world.

Recently in Almaty, one more criminal group was exposed which was involved in extortion. Its leader was a former officer in the airborne assault forces and a large number of weapons were confiscated from him. Also the former military commissar of Kalininskiy Rayon in Almaty, the head of the Dzhaunger small enterprise was arrested. An investigation showed that in actual fact he was a racketeer and 15 grams of hashish which he had in his possession were confiscated.

According to the testimony of members of the law-enforcement bodies, the criminal world is concentrating on the black market. There is nothing they do not trade in. Recently members of the directorate uncovered a pimping agency called Master and Margarita. However, the sentence which its young and enterprising organizer might receive is laughably short because of the inadequacies of the existing legislation. The fines specified by law for black marketeering in wines and spirits manufactured in Kazakhstan are also laughably small.

This is the most awful thing—the extensive and difficult work of the directorate ends with a whimper—in light punishments for criminals. Could this perhaps be the reason why the directorate is still not fully staffed? Could people bought by the mafia soon be applying to fill the vacancies?

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Congratulates Yeltsin on Referendum Victory

NC2904211893 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan sent a cable to the Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on 27 April congratulating him on the victory in the course of democracy and reforms. This victory was achieved on the basis of the free expression of the people's will.

Spokesman Blames Azerbaijan for Failure of CSCE Talks

NC3004160093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1200 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Report by Grigor Gozalyan from a news conference held by Presidential Press Secretary Aram Abrahamyan in Yerevan on 30 April—recorded]

[Text] [Gozalyan] International organizations are continuing to examine the Karabakh problem. The CSCE's committee of senior officials meeting in Prague 26-28 April did not adopt any official document because of the usual preconditions put forward by the Azerbaijani side [words indistinct].

Referring to the CSCE efforts to peacefully resolve the Karabakh conflict, Abrahamyan noted that Azerbaijan is doing everything it can to undermine the agreements concluded during the March meeting of the CSCE Minsk group, and thus is obstructing the programmed steps towards a negotiated settlement.

Commenting on the discouraging results of the political (?consultations), the presidential press secretary added:

[Abrahamyan] A draft plan was put forward, according to which the Armenian forces—let me note that it is not specified to whom these forces belong—must withdraw from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon before the talks resume. Only 21 out of the 51 CSCE countries supported that draft. The CSCE's regulations stipulate that all decisions should be adopted unanimously. But because the debate revealed that it is difficult to achieve a consensus on this issue, the draft was not put to a vote. Instead, a statement by the president of the meeting was adopted. It virtually repeats the previous statements and is not legally binding.

The UN Security Council is holding consultations, during which a resolution on the Karabakh problem is to be drawn up. As you know, during the previous examination of the problem, it was decided to reexamine the issue on the basis of a report by UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali. The UN secretary general's report, which was based on information gathered by the fact-finding groups that visited the region, was published two weeks ago. That report does not mention Armenia's participation in the armed conflict, and thus it reflects the real situation.

[Gozalyan] Abrahamyan confirmed press reports about the meeting of CIS heads of state to be held in Yerevan on 28 May. He then replied to correspondents' questions.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes UN Karabakh Resolution

LD0105195993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Armenia's Foreign Ministry welcomes the UN Security Council's resolution on the conflict in Nagorno-Karabkh, a statement of the Armenian Foreign Policy Department says. The Armenian Foreign Ministry hopes that the resolution will help to bring Azerbaijan back to the negotiating table without delay, will help to accelerate the process to halt military action, and restore a truce, the statement says.

Defense Ministry Says Turkey Sending Troops, Equipment to Baku

LD0105150693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Six Turkish generals and many soldiers arrived in Baku via the territory of Iran, claims the Armenian Defense Ministry. According to the data it possesses, a convoy of 200 KAMAZ trucks loaded with modern Western equipment and technical devices has proceeded to Baku.

Karabakh Troops Paritially Withdraw From Kelbadzhar

LD2904150393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1358 GMT 29 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan April 29 TASS—The State Defence Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has ordered and started the partial withdrawal of its troops from the Kelbadzhar district of Azerbaijan, where "they have completed operations to ensure the security of Karabakh borders and of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic", the Karabakh press and information department reported today.

The report says that this step by the Karabakh authorities proves once again that the purpose of the Armed Forces of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic is not to occupy Azeri territory, but to ensure the security of the borders and peaceful inhabitants of the young Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

Head of the Karabakh press and information department Marcel Petrosyan said in this connection that combat operations in Kelbadzhar district were only an

episode of the war between the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic and Azerbaijan. "Therefore, the Kelbadzhar issue must be discussed together with all the other problems linked with the peaceful settlement of the Karabakh conflict," he stated.

In turn, a spokesman of the Armenian president said today that the partial withdrawal of troops "testifies to the good will of the Karabakh authorities".

Interviewed by ITAR-TASS, Aram Abrahamyan, the Armenian president's press secretary, said that this step proved that Nagorno-Karabakh did not plan to occupy any Azeri territories and that all its actions were intended to ensure the security of its borders. "The Karabakh leadership has taken this step, because it wants to give fresh impetus to the peace process and to settle the conflict within the CSCE framework," Abrahamyan stressed.

Cease-Fire Reportedly Still Holding in Karabakh

NC2804181193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Citing information received from Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Self-Defense Committee, our correspondent reports that the cease-fire was being observed in NKR last night and today. No active military operations have been registered on the entire territory of the republic. The NKR self-defense forces did not retaliate isolated shellings by the enemy.

The Armenian Defense Ministry press service informed us that the situation along Armenia's borders also remained basically calm today. Under war conditions, the relative calm that has prevailed for the last week can be considered durable.

Karabakh Forces Said Ordered Not To Open Fire

NC2904144493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1344 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Stepanakert, April 29 (SNARK)—Serge Sargisyan, chairman of the Karabakh Committee of Defense, has informed SNARK's reporter despite the fact that the terms of the cease-fire came to an end, the Karabakh forces of self-defense has been ordered not to open the fire. According to Sargisyan, military actions will be only of the retaliative character. Sargisyan has denied the information of the Azerbaijani mass media on the fact that the Karabakh forces of self- defense had violated the existing agreement on cease-fire.

Karabakh Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets; Elections 16 May

NC2804142393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1312 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Stepanakert, April 28 (SNARK)—An extended Karabakh Supreme Soviet Presidium session took place today. It is decided to call the next Karabakh Supreme Soviet session after reelections to the parliament due on May 16, 1993, Karabakh Information and Press Department informed SNARK. As it had reported recently, Karabakh Supreme Soviet session scheduled for April 27 because of the absence of quorum has not begun its work for yesterday as well as today.

President Appoints New Adviser

NC0105082093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The Armenian president issued a decree today appointing Samvel Volodyayi Gevorgyan as adviser to the Armenian president.

Azerbaijan

'Favorable' Reaction to UN Resolution Reported

NC0205140693 Baku AZERTAC in English 1236 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Baku, May 2 (AZERTAC)—The press-service of Azeri president considers status, fixed in the Security Council resolution of UN, where principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states of region are confirmed, as well as inviolability of international borders and inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by the use of force, as a favorable fact from point of view of strengthening positions of Azerbaijan.

This document was adopted by 15 members of the Security Council unanimously, when the question on relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan was considered, the day before.

As it is stressed in connection with the message of the Azeri president's press-service, the adopted resolution can be considered as indirect support of principal position of Azerbaijan, which is for settlement of the Azeri-Armenian conflict within CSCE exclusively.

In opinion of the press-service, the document can be considered as a good base for activation of forces of the Republic to reveal the real nature of the Azeri and Armenian conflict and provide full withdrawal of the Armenian forces from the territory of Azerbaijan.

As it is especially remarked, the position of UN and ways of settlement of the Azeri-Armenian conflict, proposed by the Security Council of UN, are evidence of realization of danger of growth of the process by the world community, as well as its negative influence on the regional stability. Satisfaction is also expressed in connection with that participation of the Republic of Armenia in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is fixed on such a high level for the first time.

Deputies Hold Extraordinary Session in Gyandzha

NC3004134593 Baku TURAN in English 1056 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Baku 30 Apr (TURAN)—As TURAN agency informed, on 27-28 April some of popular deputies demanded calling of extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet for observing of public-political situation in Azerbaijan.

After the refusal of the chairman of the Parliament, 203 elders from 39 regions of Republic got together in Gyandzha, the second after Baku city of Azerbaijan. Some popular deputies by former Minister of Defence of Azerbaijan Rakhim Gaziyev at the head were at that meeting.

After discussing the situation, they got a resolution consisting of some points. There was the demand of calling of extraordinary session of Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan during the nearest 10 days and giving an opportunity of oppositional deputies live broadcasting on TV.

They condemned the declaration of PFA [People's Front of Azerbaijan] executive committee from 9 February, which informed, as if, the preparation of military coup by one of the National Army Commander-in-Chief Suret Guseynov.

Some of the rebellious deputies are still in Gyandzha and they are not going to refuse from their demands.

Elchibey Expresses Gratitude for Yeltsin's Mediation

OW3004001993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Apr 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] The Azerbaijani president has assessed the mediation initiatives by the Russian president. Abulfaz Elchibey, with understanding and gratitude, has absorbed all of Boris Yeltsin's proposals and has expressed the hope that Russia, as a permanent member of the Security Council, will put forward a forcible and just argument in regard to the Armenian aggression.

In line with this, Abulfaz Elchibey reiterated Azerbaijan's adherence, in essence, to the peace processes within the framework of the CSCE.

During the meeting of the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan in Ankara, a general opinion was also expressed that talks under the aegis of the CSCE, whose decisions both presidents promised to carry out, was the only sure mechanism for resolving the conflict.

New Prime Minister Outlines Goals, Announces New Post

NC2904180193 Baku AZERTAC in English 1526 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, April 29 (AZERTAC)—Cardinal reforms in economy and social sphere are impossible without improvement of structure of management of the national economy, announced Prime Minister of Azerbaijan Panakh Guseynov, having a speech at his first press conference, today. He was appointed to this post yesterday, and he considers that to begin with the government, head of which he is, must be re-organized, and professionals must form a base of the government.

Guseynov also considers that it is necessary to eliminate parallelism in the management, that is to separate services, which solve social, economic and humanitarian questions, from the Azeri Presidents Office. He also said that a new post is set up—first deputy premier on economic reforms, to which he appointed A. Masimov, who had been a head of the cabinet before.

New premier of Azerbaijan thinks that development of agro-industrial complex and foreign economic relations are main among prior directions of activity of the Azeri Government. In his opinion, realization of the planned work can stop process of inflation, overcome the crisis in the industry, agriculture and social sphere.

Nakhichevan's Aliyev Opposes Choice of Guseynov

NC3004125193 Baku TURAN in English 1056 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Baku April 30 (TURAN)—A number of influential political leaders of Azerbaijan including [Nakhichevan Supreme Soviet Chairman] Geydar Aliyev consider the appointment of the secretary of state Panakh Guseynov the prime-minister to be 'the gross mistake of the present authorities'.

As it was expected the opposition gave a hostile reception to that appointment. So the Chairman of the National Independent Party Etibar Mamedov declared in Milli Mejlis that 'after the appointment of such an improvident person the prime-minister, I pass on to the open confrontation with the present authorities'.

The sentiments in the society are not simple too. It has to be pointed out, that Panakh Guseynov was never held in great respect among the political circles of the country and even among the members of the popular front of Azerbaijan too.

Parliament Adopts Resolution on New Government Structure

NC2904200093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Azerbaijan's parliament has adopted a resolution on changing the structure of state administrations.

Henceforth, the Council of Ministers will be responsible for economic matters. The only ministries affiliated with the President's Office will be the Interior Ministry, the National Security Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and the Foreign Ministry.

The parliament proposed the appointment of former State Secretary Panakh Guseynov as prime minister.

The text of the resolution will be published in the press.

'Text' of Resolution

NC2904201893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 29 Apr 93

["Text" of the National Assembly resolution on the structure of the new government issued on 28 April—read by announcer]

[Text] In accordance with Article 123 of the Constitution, the main law, the Azerbaijan National Assembly has adopted the following resolution:

The structure of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers will be established as follows:

1. Prime minister

2. First deputy prime minister

3. Second deputy prime minister and minister of economy

4. Deputy prime minister

5. [Word indistinct] minister

6. Defense minister

7. Interior minister

8. National security minister

9. Foreign minister 10. Finance minister 11. [Word indistinct] minister 12. Trade minister 13. [Words indistinct] minister 14. Culture minister 15. Publications and information minister 16. Higher and secondary education minister 17. Education minister 18. Health minister 19. Labor and social security minister 20. Communications minister 21. Foreign economic relations minister 22. Head of the Committee for State Property 23. Head of the State Committee for Land 24. Head of the State Committee for [word indistinct] Engineering Works and [word indistinct] 25. Head of the State Committee for Science and Technology 26. Head of the State Committee for Customs 27. Head of the Main Inspection Office for Tax Collection EOT

[Signed] Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Baku, 28 April 1993

Opposition Parties Issue Statement on Political Situation

NC0205145493 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1321 GMT 2 May 93

["Statement of Seven Oppositional Parties of Azerbaijan"—ASSA-IRADA headline]

[Text] Baku, 02.05.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—There are such parties among them as National Independence of Azerbaijan (leader-Etibar Mamidov), New Azerbaijan (leader Gaydar Aliyev), Social Democratic Party (Araz Alizade), National Revival Party (leader Sayad Sayadov) and the others. The statement tells that the social and political situation in the Republic has become worse. The human rights and the legacy being violated. There were arrests, physical injuries and death in Giogchai and Aksu provinces of Azerbaijan, says the statement of the oppositional parties. They suppose that all this unmask those, who are in power. The oppositional parties mention the statement of the Azerbaijan People's Front from April 23, openly saying that those, who are in power today in any case, without paying attention to the objections of the people will make an attempt to keep it in their hands, even if the civil war begins. The national independence of Azerbaijan belongs to the whole nation, but not to a group of men. And they can have a monopoly said the statement of oppositional parties. Scaring the nation, with the activation of pro-communistic powers, the leaders of Azerbaijan People's Front announce their organization to be the main support of the national independence of Azerbaijan, which is tantamount with the sixth point of the Constitution of the former Soviet Union. The opposition refutes the threats of authorities to sink in blood its rights to use the Constitution in the consolidation of the independence of Azerbaijan and again tells about its resolution to struggle, reads statement of the oppositional parties.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Says Sukhumi Reinforced, Calls For End to Shelling

LD2904135093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The trip to Abkhazia by Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze has doubled the interest of experts and observers in that region, where the situation continues to remain extremely tense. Nikolay Mamulashvili reports.

[Begin Mamulashvili recording] At a meeting with Abkhazia's leadership, local authorities, and representatives of the command of Georgian troops in the conflict zone, Shevardnadze reported that the aim of his trip was to investigate the state of affairs and to check the readiness of troops in the Tkvarcheli and Ochamchira zones.

Our main task, said Shevardnadze, is to reinforce Sukhumi, and not to allow any adventures; to do everything possible to ease the lot of Abkhazia's civilian population.

According to our data, Shevardnadze continued, we have all the strength to defend Sukhumi and there are sufficient reserves both in Tbilisi and in other regions of the republic. At the same time, Shevardnadze stressed that the possibility of a peaceful settlement to the conflict remains. Shevardnadze also named as a new and significant element in the settlement of the conflict the possibility of participation of Ukrainian peacemaking forces in the region under UN aegis.

The Georgian head of state stressed that Georgia has the strength to end the war in a fitting manner. However, he said, new factors have appeared for a peaceful settlement to the conflict. If Russia's leadership says, Shevardnadze continued, that it is concerned about the fate of Russians and wishes to protect their interests, then the first thing that it should do is make the Gudauta group stop the artillery shelling of Sukhumi. I propose, Shevardnadze said, that firing on Sukhumi should be stopped. Otherwise, he continued, I will agree with the view of the military about inflicting concentrated fire on Gudauta and possibly on Tkvarcheli. In that event all the responsibility will lie with the Gudauta group, Eduard Shevardnadze concluded. [end recording]

Shevardnadze Escapes Artillery Bombardment in Sukhumi

LD2904171393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Our Tbilisi correspondent Nikolay Murlashvili has reported that during a visit to Sukhumi today, Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgia's head of state and chairman of its parliament, came under an artillery bombardment along with the officials accompanying him.

This occurred in the vicinity of the republican hospital at the moment when Shevardnadze emerged from his car to talk with Georgian fighters.

Three shells exploded in the immediate vicinity of the Georgian head of state. Bodyguards, in the literal sense of the term, used their bodies to cover Shevardnadze, pressing him to the ground. By sheer luck there were no casualties.

On the same day, Shevardnadze visited the Phsyics and Technology Institute in Sukhumi where he had a meeting with the collective.

Later today he intends to return to Tbilisi.

Shevardnadze Warns of Military Action if Bombings Continue

LD3004075993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Yesterday, on 29 April, Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state, in his interview from Sukhumi with the Georgian news agency Sakinpormi, once again confirmed his complete readiness [as heard] that the representatives of the mission should start immediate negotiations with the Gudauta authorities to settle the conflict peacefully and politically if, of course, the separatists act sensibly, gather the Sukhumi agents, and accept this proposal. If not, our military men's statement following the mass bombing of Gudauta and Tkvarcheli will not be just a threat, declared Eduard Shevardnadze, and I hope that the world public will understand everything correctly, as we have no more chances left for a peaceful settlement. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed the hope that the Gudauta separatists take the present situation into consideration and make the correct decision. Thus, they will be held responsible for everything, declared the head of the Georgian state.

Troops Fight 'Intensive Skirmishes' With Abkhazian Forces

LD3004100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0913 GMT 30 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 30 TASS—Intensive skirmishes have been going on over the past twenty-four hours in several areas of confrontation between Georgian and Abkhazian armed formations, ITAR-TASS learned on Friday from the press service of the Abkhazian Parliament.

Georgian troops opened fire from artillery and tank weapons on Abkhazian positions and settlements of Atara, Merkula, Bedia. No positional changes have been reported.

The press service of the Abkhazian Parliament reported that intensive skirmishes had been going on in the direction of Sukhumi in the area of the Gumista river. Georgian troops had been shelling positions of the Abkhazian Armed Forces from large-caliber machine guns and different artillery weapons, including Grad rocket launchers.

Government Troops Attack Abkhaz Positions

LD0105090393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0857 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—Georgian planes bombed positions of Abkhazian troops and the village of Esheri in the evening of April 30, the Abkhazian defence ministry reports. Eight bombs were dropped. Some civilians were wounded. According to the same source, the

Abkhazian troops dealt a powerful artillery blow at weapon emplacements and positions of Georgian troops.

Position fighting is going on at the Gumista front, the source says. Georgian Government troops are shelling positions of Abkhazian units, using various artillery systems, including Grad missile launching installations.

According to the abkhazian defence ministry, in the eastern sector the Georgian side is shelling the villages of Pakuash, Labra and Bedia of the Ochamira district.

Russian Army Spokesman Reacts to 'Hard-Line' Troop Policy

NC2904181893 Yerevan SNARK in English 1517 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Tbilisi, April 29 (SNARK)—There is a Georgian hard-line policy on "driving" Russians out of Georgia, according to the opinion of Genadiy Dolgachiyev, press secretary of the Russian Army Group in Transcaucasia.

Relating the recent Georgian Defence Minister Tengiz Kitovani's announcement which does not exclude a possibility for offensive against Russian troops in Georgian territory, Genadiy Dolgachiyev during an interview to SNARK said that Georgian high officials many times before have called for offensives against Russian troops and soldiers and that they "are intended to create a Afghanistan number two for Russians." Referring to such events as pressure upon the Russian leadership, Genadiy Dolgachiyev noted, that those can cause fatal consequences. Dolgachiyev refused to comment on the Georgian parliament's decision that if the Russian troops would not been withdrawn from the Georgian territory the Abkhazian conflict zone will be called "zone occupied by Russia." Dolgachiyev referred to the fact that the Russian Army Group in Transcaucasia does not discuss questions of their location in Abkhazia.

Russian Troops To Guard Own Facilities

NC2904173693 Yerevan SNARK in English 1516 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Tbilisi, April 29 (SNARK)—Russian troops are able to guard their structures themselves in the Georgian territory, said the April 28 press centre of the RAGT (Russian Army Group in Transcaucasia).

The document, as SNARK reporter informs, points out that in recent period the situation around Russian military structures in Georgia has significantly sharpened, especially in Tbilisi. Three Georgian Defence Ministry military troops (400 men) using the hearsay on preparing the capture of an arsenal in Havlabar (district in Tbilisi) on April 27 have come to the arsenal mutually. Such actions, the announcement notes, assist to spread looting, robbery of military equipment. The Georgian leadership is informed of the list of the objects to be passed to Georgia, and the leadership is to take the corresponding measures. All least military equipment, the announcement tells, will be passed to the local authorities after signing the corresponding bilateral agreements between Russia and Georgia.

Commentary Views Russian Statement on Sukhumi Situation

LD3004163693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Russian Foreign Ministry issued a statement yesterday, as it says, in connection with the deterioration of the situation of the Russian-speaking population in Sukhumi. According to Russia's diplomatic office, Russian servicemen and their families are exposed to violence and even murder, imprisonment, and mocking. [passage omitted]

So, according to the ministry, Russians are mocked and even murdered in Sukhumi. Yes, they are murdered. However, not by Georgians but by shells fired from artillery and mortars installed in Gudauta and by rockets launched from the Russian fighter- aircrafts. [passage omitted]

According to Shevardnadze, bombardment of Sukhumi has claimed 160 lives and over 500 wounded, many Russians among them. If in Russia people are really concerned about their fellow countrymen, they had better take urgent measures to stop bombing Sukhumi. In this connection we will acquaint you with the statement by the Abkhazian state committee on human rights and interethnic relations.

The reactionary part of the Russian official circles has at last realized that the whole world is aware of the reasons and causes of the developments in Abkhazia. To justify themselves they enhance the anti-Georgian propaganda. Using a provocative slogan of defending the Russian-speaking population, they violate the norms of international law. Their policy is directed towards justification of their interference into the internal affairs of Georgia in the eyes of the Russian and world communities.

The statement by the Russian Foreign Ministry is yet another proof of it. When Sukhumi was bombed from the aircraft marked with Russian signs the leaders of Russia did not remember the Russian- speaking population of Sukhumi. This barbaric act resulted in 68 dead and 231 wounded Russian-speaking inhabitants of Sukhumi. Some 452 Russian citizens of Sukhumi are registered, whose houses have been destroyed by bombing and who have become refugees in their own town. [passage omitted]

Abkhazian Councils Appeal to International Observers

LD3004204693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2030 GMT 30 Apr 93

[by Georgian News Agency for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi April 30 TASS - The Abkhazian Defence Council and the Council of Ministers have sent an appeal to the United Nations Security Council, the CSCE, government and democratic community of the Russian Federation and Commonwealth states with "an insistent demand to immediately send to Abkhazia their observers to establish the truth and take specific measures for the elimination of the most explosive hotbed in the Caucasian region".

Shevardnadze Calls For Enhancing Role of Black Sea States

LD0105150393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1450 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Tbilisi May 1 TASS—"We will exert every effort to help form an impartial world public opinion about current processes in Georgia," said Halil Akinci, head of the CSCE delegation now visiting Georgia. He was received by Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze today.

The head of the delegation from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which studied the situation in South Ossetia's Tskhinvali area over several days, said the situation is very serious there. Akinci assured that the CSCE delegation will do everything possible to settle the conflict.

Shevardnadze noted, in turn, that mutual relationships that are being gradually formed between the Georgian and Ossetian population of the region inspire hope. At the same time, he added that a "political load" need to be applied to economic cooperation of the Black Sea countries and the role of this forum in settling the region's problems needs to be enhanced.

It was pointed out at the meeting that proceeding from the existing realities, immense importance is attached to invigorating the factors of neighbouring states, specifically Ukraine and Turkey. Shevardnadze expressed the view that setting up an international conflict settlement centre would facilitate the stabilisation process in the region.